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The Shape of Things

CONSIDERING THE ODDS AGAINST GREECE easy optimism would be misplaced, but after two weeks of fighting, Mussolini's own *Blitzkrieg* has still to show signs of real impetus. Yet speed is essential if it is not to be bogged down by snow in the mountains of Epirus, where winter starts early, and if the British are to be prevented from getting settled in the new bases now available to them. The slow start of the Italian army appears strange after the months of preparation it had enjoyed. At first it seemed to be guided by a belief that only a demonstration was needed to bring about the capitulation of the Metaxas government, and in centers amenable to Axis propaganda the idea was spread that a pro-Italian regime was all ready to take over. Now that hope is dispelled, but the Italian commanders are still moving slowly. The emphasis placed in Rome communiqués on the strength of the Greek defenses, the excellence of the Greek equipment, and the unfavorable weather is good evidence of the quality of the resistance. The Greek army, indeed, shows many signs of intelligent handling. It is maintaining a flexible defense line and making good use of the terrain to outflank the enemy forces.

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THE APPARENT FAILURE OF BRITAIN TO move quickly to the aid of Greece has provoked criticism in this country. But air bases cannot be established overnight, and as Winston Churchill has pointed out, up to the Italian invasion Greece had maintained the strictest neutrality and there had been no possibility of planning dispositions in advance. However, once established in the Aegean Islands, the British navy and air force should be able to harass Italy very effectively. The future shape of the campaign in the eastern Mediterranean cannot be forecast until German plans become clearer. Pressure is evidently to be put upon Turkey, but that country is unlikely to yield to the Axis, at least so long as it can count on indirect Russian support. The key to the situation is therefore in Moscow, and a strong diplomatic putsch in that direction by Berlin is indicated.

THE REASONS FOR THE JAPANESE RETREAT from the entire province of Kwangsi following the loss of Nanning a week ago are obscure. Although their casualties in the province, especially from disease, are known to have been high, it hardly seems likely that the Japanese could have been driven out so quickly if the evacuation had not been planned in advance. The voluntary withdrawal of the Japanese garrison from Waichow Island, off the Kwantung coast, and from Namou, an island east of Swatow, seems to confirm this supposition. Chinese sources also claim Japanese evacuation of the important city of Ichang, midway between Hankow and Chungking on the Yangtze. So far the purpose of the general retreat can only be guessed. The evacuated troops are reported to have been transported to Hainan Island, south of Hongkong. A concentration of troops on this island would be useful for a Japanese blow almost anywhere in the South Seas. Such a step would naturally precede an attack on the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, or, for that matter, Hongkong. Further Japanese ambitions in Indo-China appear to be ruled out by the fact that some of the Kwangsi troops are being evacuated by way of Haiphong. The retreat also seems to preclude the long-anticipated drive against the province of Yunnan, terminus of the Burma road, since such a drive would naturally be launched from Kwangsi. Although Japan has shown surprising weakness in recent months, it would be wishful thinking to interpret the withdrawal from Kwangsi as the beginning of the end for the Japanese war machine. It is more likely to mark the beginning of a new phase in Japanese aggression, this time directed against the West.

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IMPRISONMENT OF PANDIT JAWAHARLAL Nehru, who stands second only to Gandhi as leader of the National Congress, is bound to have serious repercussions through India. For it happens that Nehru, in addition to being Gandhi's most likely successor, is India's leading anti-fascist. Like Harold Laski, whose views on India are mentioned elsewhere in this issue, Nehru has maintained that Britain's position as a spokesman for democracy would be incomparably strengthened if it permitted India to exercise the right of self-rule. His

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imprisonment is a loss to the progressive wing of the Congress Party, but it will serve a useful purpose if it helps to awaken Britain to the perennial folly of its Indian policy.

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AMERICAN BUSINESS HAS JUST CONCLUDED one of the best months in history. While Willkie toured the country talking of the economic bankruptcy forced upon the country by the New Deal, the business indices pushed their way into new high ground. Industrial production is now well above the 1929 mark. Steel-ingot production, at 96.5 per cent of an enlarged capacity, is greater than at any time in the 20's. Activity in the construction industry is at the highest point in the past ten years. Electric-power output has also made a new record. The A. F. of L. reports more persons were reemployed in September than in any month since 1936. The cash farm income for 1940 is estimated to be the second highest since 1929. But the most striking gains, while Willkie talked about the plight of private industry, have been in profits. The earnings of the United States Steel Corporation for the third quarter have been exceeded in only one quarter in the past ten years. General Motors tripled its 1939 third-quarter earnings. But it remained for the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, with the next-to-highest quarter's earnings in its history, to demonstrate the far from injurious effects of New Deal policies. It is true that the spectacular upsurge of business during the past few months has been largely the result of war and defense orders. But it must not be forgotten that business began to improve before the outbreak of war. And while war orders are highly precarious, the stricture does not apply to defense orders. Barring a catastrophe, it may be assumed that business will feel an increasing stimulus from our defense requirements for many months to come.

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THE SMITH ALIEN AND SEDITION BILL passed at the last session of Congress included—as meager sugar-coating—a provision permitting the Attorney General to suspend deportation or allow voluntary departure in so-called "hardship cases." These are cases where the husband or wife of an American citizen or the parent of American children would otherwise be subject to deportation. The first case to arise under this provision is that of Mrs. Earl Browder, and the Attorney General has denied her application for clemency although her husband is an American and she is the mother of three children who are Americans. She was arrested last August and found guilty of entering the country illegally. Under the law the Attorney General has no power to suspend deportation or allow voluntary departure in the case of aliens who are members of an organization advocating overthrow of the government by force. Whether the Communist Party is such an organization has yet to be decided by the Supreme Court, but the Attorney General held that Mrs. Browder's "evasive testimony" regarding her relationship to the Communist Party created doubt as to her eligibility for leniency. When deportation is suspended, the law requires a report to Congress, which can override the Attorney General's action, and the Attorney General fears a row. No report would be required, however, and reentry would be possible if voluntary departure were permitted. The Attorney General's order leaves the door ajar for a rehearing, and we hope that he will permit voluntary departure.

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UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN OFFICIALS HAVE refused to present the case for the university in the open hearing to be staged by the Michigan Committee for Academic Freedom which is investigating the dismissal of thirteen students four months ago. The fact that ten of the thirteen students were members of the American Student Union and that all had participated in one way or another in progressive political activities has given rise to the suspicion that the students were dismissed because of their organizational activities or their suspected political views. Whether any of the students had actually been engaged in "subversive" activities, as is rumored locally, is unknown. No charges have been filed and no hearings held. That is the basis of the vigorous protests being raised by educators from all parts of the country. We hope they will force the university to observe the democratic rules.

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LAST WEEK AN ADVERTISEMENT APPEARED on the back cover of *The Nation* featuring the letter to the New York *Times* in which Oswald Garrison Villard announced his support of Wendell Willkie. In the same issue, commenting on Mr. Villard's action, we said the advertisement came from the Republican National Committee. The agency which placed the advertisement in *The Nation* had told us in explicit terms that this was the case. We have been indignantly informed by a friend of Mr. Villard's that he and some other individuals interested in spreading the message of the letter had subscribed funds for the advertisement and that the Republican National Committee had nothing to do with it. We accept without question this disclaimer and set down the true facts here. But for the sake of the record we want to reiterate that we spoke in good faith, having no reason whatsoever to question the statement that the advertisement came from Republican headquarters. On the contrary we have clear evidence that the same statement was made regarding the same advertisement to a contemporary publication. And we think the indignation of Mr. Villard's friends a little exaggerated; when you support the Republican Presidential candidate you can't act too superior about the official Republican organization.

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Why Roosevelt Won

THE dimensions of Franklin D. Roosevelt's third victory are not fully established as we go to press. It is apparent, however, that while the President has fallen short of the 10,797,090 plurality which gave him 62 per cent of the popular vote in 1936, he has won an astounding triumph. He has stood political experts on their heads by recouping in unprecedented fashion the losses of a midterm election while carrying for the first time in American history the burden of the third-term bugaboo. But the historical significance of the 1940 election runs deep and is hardly to be expressed in terms of a political tour de force.

The campaign we have just been through was bitter in the extreme. Politically experienced Europeans now in this country, appalled at the reckless flow of passion and energy, compared it with the last free elections in the totalitarian states and wondered the more because superficially the issues were not sharp enough to warrant such powerful currents of emotion. The candidates did not seem to be far apart. Wendell Willkie's campaign policy was in fact a tribute, as eloquent as it was reluctant, to the achievements of the two Roosevelt Administrations. Rather than fly in the face of obvious popular feeling he chose to indorse the Roosevelt Revolution and urged his own candidacy largely on the ground that he, rather than the President, could administer the gains of that revolution with honesty and efficiency. Like the President, he scored and challenged the dictators and advocated help for the British.

Why, then, the heat? And why the smashing Roosevelt victory, despite popular uneasiness about violating the third-term tradition?

The answer lay beneath the surface of the campaign, in the implications of Willkie's candidacy rather than in anything the Republican candidate said or did. In the four years that lie ahead American business will have to face the dilemma that has bedeviled the capitalists of Europe. It will have to decide whether to oppose itself in every way to the juggernaut of German imperialism and in so doing risk its special privileges at home, or to do nothing to stave off a British defeat, frankly accept a New Order abroad, and attempt to traffic with it as profitably as changed circumstances will permit. Despite Wendell Willkie's advocacy of aid to Britain, despite his bold words in defiance of the dictators, it became apparent early in the campaign that he was to have the support of all those who had either identified their interests with a German victory or who, resigning themselves to that eventuality, were already planning for American cooperation in the New Order.

These more vocal elements were, of course, insignificant in the population as a whole. But the defeatist feeling which they generated was vaguely pervasive in large sectors of American industry. Millions of business men, however anti-fascist by preference, knew that the pillars of the British-dominated order were in danger of crumbling and they did not want to be found on the wrong side of the fence. They wanted to be sure that, come what may, this country would meet the situation with a man at the helm who knew and sympathized with the business-is-business point of view, and they looked upon Wendell Willkie as that kind of man. Say what he might about the great social gains of the New Deal, he had won his spurs in a ruthless war against one of the New Deal's most unimpeachable programs. He was for the safeguards that had been set up for labor, for investors, for farmers, for consumers—but, they told themselves with a wink, he would know when to stop. He favored conscription of man-power for defense but opposed the mildest effort to conscript recalcitrant industries. In short, here was a man who in a period of turmoil was intelligent enough to preach reform while invoking every device to maintain the status quo.

The kind of campaign which Willkie chose to conduct was a hard kind and one which required the utmost in shifting, tacking, and blatant self-contradiction. It lacked logic and conviction, and these defects had to be made up in passion and prejudice. They were. The campaign of 1940 will go down in history as one of the ugliest on record. In place of issues the Republican Party was forced to resort to devices, and they were not pretty.

Foremost of these was the exploitation of the sentiment against a third term, which was turned from an honest issue into a fevered attempt to portray Roosevelt's election as the entering wedge for American fascism. Perhaps even worse were the bogies conjured up by the Republican high command in 1936 and developed to grotesque and criminal proportions in 1940. A "People's Committee to Defend Life Insurance and Savings" was set up to provide machinery through which life-insurance agents warned customers that their policies would be worth only fifty cents on the dollar unless Wendell Willkie were elected. Blame for the war and for the victories of the Axis powers was fixed on Roosevelt, who was shamelessly accused of having abetted the Munich betrayal. Secret tips from high sources were spread to the effect that the President had completed plans for provoking war with Japan immediately upon his reelection. Communist agents in the labor movement whispered of conversations with John L. Lewis in which the labor turncoat was said to have told them that the President had warned him that the C.I.O. could continue to exist under his Administration only as a great company union. Nor was anti-Semitism overlooked by the slimier and more desperate of the Willkie backers, like Hugh S. Johnson, although Willkie himself was undoubtedly honest in his repudiation of such tactics.

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All these devices failed before a magnificent demonstration of the mental health of the common people of the United States. Despite a national press which was 90 per cent for Willkie; despite the fact that the "dictator" allowed his opponent at least ten times the opportunity to present his case on the radio that he himself required; despite the sly distortions that streamed over the air from the Lindberghs and the Lewises; despite the conversion of certain shaken liberals to the Willkie cause—despite these things, a great majority of the American people went quietly to the polls and used their own good judgment. Their ballots said simply that they knew where Franklin D. Roosevelt stood and that in these grave days it was better to sacrifice the relative value of the third-term tradition than to sacrifice a leader whose devotion to democracy had been put to the test and found strong. In a world sick with fear and discouragement that decision is a tonic, and its recording may well mark a turning-point in the world's desperate resistance to tyranny.

France Waits

THE French people are still waiting to know to what bargain with Germany their government is committing them. Both Marshal Pétain and Vice-Premier Laval have spoken in the past few days but have not dissipated the fog which hangs over their negotiations with Hitler. The former hinted that "collaboration" with the conquerors *might* lighten France's sufferings, improve the lot of prisoners of war, reduce the cost of the German army of occupation, and modify the tight lines of demarcation between occupied and unoccupied France. But he gave no indication of the price which would have to be paid for these concessions. The only uncloudy part of his whole address was his demand for absolute obedience to his leadership at a time when France had "many obligations to victorious Germany."

Reports from Vichy emphasize that the agreement reached with Germany is at present confined to general principles. The value of the agreement to the Nazis, however, depends on the concrete measures of assistance toward winning the war which they may expect from France. These all-important details remain to be arranged, and it is obvious from the news dispatches that a variety of hitches have impeded negotiations. In the first place, Mussolini seems to have gummed the works by refusing to reduce his claims on the French empire. Hitler, having no direct interest in North Africa, was prepared, no doubt, to pay for French aid out of loot previously assigned to Italy. The dislike of his Axis partner for this scheme can be deduced from the following statement in the semi-official Italian weekly, *Relazioni Internazionali:* "No worming out will be permitted. If France honestly wants to participate in the new European setup she must first settle accounts still open with the nations that defeated her."

However willing some Frenchmen may be to bow down before German might, they are not ready to acknowledge Italy as a conqueror or to make over to it vast territories as the price of admission to a junior partnership in the Axis. Moreover, there is some reason to believe that Marshal Pétain and General Weygand are not yet prepared to put France into the war against its old ally by placing the French navy and bases at the disposal of the Axis. That might prove poor strategy, for it is possible that such a revocation of the armistice terms would be regarded by some of the colonial authorities as releasing them from their allegiance to Vichy. A closely related argument against intervention in the war is uncertainty about the public reaction.

One thing has become quite clear in the course of the Franco-German negotiations—that whatever plans Hitler wishes to carry out, Pierre Laval will be his devoted agent. Immediately after the defeat of France the French Vice-Premier was credited with a scheme for the creation of a Latin fascist bloc as a counterweight to Germany. But he seems speedily to have realized that the weakness of Italy and Spain was fatal to this idea, and he is now ready to accept for France the status of a German protectorate so long as he is allowed to be its Quisling. Democracy, he told reporters in an interview in Paris, is dead the world over, and he went on to declare that he was staking the future of France on cooperation with Germany. This is only another way of saying that he was backing Germany to win the war against Britain, and he will be inhibited from committing France completely to this cause only by the difficulty of persuading the French people to follow him.

With a view to overcoming this obstacle, the further definition of the "principles of collaboration" is likely to be deferred pending an educational campaign. Reports from Vichy report a tightening of the censorship and the use of films to promote hatred of Britain and awe and admiration for Germany. Prominence is being given to a German promise that the conclusion of a full agreement will mean the release of the majority of the French prisoners of war.

But the strongest means of putting pressure on France is the whiphand which Germany holds over its economy. Already the Nazi locusts have swept through occupied and unoccupied territory alike, and their depredations, added to a bad harvest, have left the country bare. The one thing now plentiful in France is paper money, for the Germans always pay for what they take and thus avoid the appearance of plundering. They can well afford to do so since the currency they use is supplied by the French themselves, partly through the enormous payments for the army of occupation, partly in exchange for

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marks which the German authorities turn into the Bank of France in such amounts as suit their convenience. Stripped of goods but rolling in paper money, France is already far launched on a tide of ruinous inflation. It can only be checked by the retention inside the country of such supplies as still exist and by the recommencement of production. But these steps depend entirely on German willingness to reduce the costs of the army of occupation, to make raw materials available, and to allow the reestablishment of economic relations between the two parts of France. This is the bludgeon which Hitler holds over France, and it is Laval's task to impress the French people with its terrifying force and to persuade them of the wisdom of "collaboration" no matter how degrading its terms may be.

To the President-Elect

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

I WRITE these words just after the echoes of the last campaign speeches have died, just before the ballots are marked. And so I do not know who you are. Perhaps it's better so. If I knew your name were Roosevelt, I might withhold some honest and urgent words out of false hesitation to tell a third-term President how to suck political eggs. If I knew it were Willkie, I might be seized with a sense of desperation and futility. This would be stupid. Citizens have a duty to speak and there is much to be said; much, in spite of the billions of words spilled in ink and air waves in the last three months.

I am going to be specific to the point of narrowness; I have grown tired of large words. We've all been using too many of them in these campaign weeks. You have told the people, for instance, that the election was about the survival of democracy. You have said you would preserve peace but reject appeasement. You have come out for a big defense program. You have promised the continuance of social legislation and freedom of the workers to organize. These things are fine. But now I want to know what they are going to mean in translation. What will be the actions into which these good general words are turned? Political programs which do not become political actions are a dangerous diet for a free people.

Take the survival of democracy. Does that mean the United States will refuse to allow Hitler to win the war? You promised very firmly several times that we would remain at peace; although also, at an earlier stage of the campaign, you wisely qualified that promise. I don't think the promise was ever wholly honest, if you will excuse my saying so. I'm sure you want to avoid actual conflict, but a dozen imminent circumstances may end our present state of unneutral non-belligerency. We won't, for example, allow those American planes in Martinique to be carted off to France for the use of Hitler. I'm sure we won't. Will we allow the Dutch East Indies to fall into the hands of the Japanese? Will we send ships to Singapore to augment the British fleet? Certainly you couldn't have discussed these items in detail in the course of the campaign. But I think you should have refused to vie with your opponent in unqualifiedly promising peace. Instead, you should have bravely warned the nation that war may be necessary; that certain possible happenings will be prevented even at the risk of war. You should have told the people plainly that this country is already inextricably engaged in the struggle against Hitlerism and that we shall not draw back from its uttermost consequences. You may think that if you had followed this course you would have been defeated. Maybe you would, though if you are the leader your followers believe you to be, you might have created wide understanding and support by your very courage. Suppose you had been defeated? Even your defeat could be better tolerated in a democracy than timidity and false promises.

But that's past. Now you must be clear-cut. We want to know what you plan to do in defense of democracy.

Not many of us want you to declare war on Germany or on Japan or to send American troops to foreign shores. At this stage of the struggle that would seem reckless and unnecessary. But we believe the United States must help Britain to whatever degree is necessary to prevent its collapse and the surrender and destruction of its fleet. Our own safety depends upon Britain's survival. And beyond safety is the hope of a world in which we can live in the light of those principles of social and political decency which you so warmly commended in your campaign speeches. For both we will fight with arms if we have to. You can count on that.

But this brings up a major question. The international struggle is rapidly taking shape—not only in military terms, but in terms of its political meaning. More and more people are coming to realize that a new world is being born. There isn't much latitude for choice in this struggle. You have to plump either for fascism or for a democratic system incomparably bolder and more wholeheartedly committed to social justice than anything the world has yet seen. And yet a lot of people who favor defense and even favor a "strong stand" against foreign interference in this hemisphere believe they can, at the same time, cling to a system of unreconstructed "free" capitalism for America: let the big industries run the defense program and keep a tight rein on subversive activities. These are the same people, mostly, who are laying plans for profitable deals with totalitarianism the day the British fleet is sunk or surrendered.

I want to tell you that these people are the American fifth column. Nazi agents, Communist defeatists, native fascists, none of these provide more than auxiliary power

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for the drive to end the kind of democracy that you promise us and that we demand. The important forces of reaction are the men who, in a final showdown, would prefer fascism to a genuine, consistent New Deal—a thorough renovation of a system which has bred fascism as a disease. Only democrats can defend democracy. Print that, Mr. President, on a placard and hang it over your desk. You'll need it in days to come.

To resist the appeasers and to hold steadily before your eyes the real meaning of the war will take a tough mind and monumental stubbornness. First of all, you will have to push out or keep out of places of power many influential and strategically placed individuals who seem, by surface indications, to have all the right qualifications. There are men at this moment in government agencies and on your Advisory Defense Commission who should be retired quickly. They know a lot about industry and nothing about democracy. Get rid of them. A little dislocation is better than a major betrayal.

Bring more labor people into influential positions in all branches of government. Make labor understand that the struggle is its struggle; that the workers to whom you have addressed such passionate appeals for support have a life-or-death stake in the resistance to Hitlerism. Unlike Britain, the United States has no political labor movement which can serve as collaborator and goad; but the unions form a reservoir of energy and ability which has scarcely been tapped.

Conscript also the best progressive men and women in the professions; the most enlightened farmers; people who know what the war is about and what forces must win if there is to be peace either in our time or in times yet to come.

You can count on other strong allies if you have the courage to enlist them. In France today, still rotting in detention camps, are thousands of the world's bravest fighters against fascism, the soldiers of republican Spain, plain workers and farmers, most of them, who picked up guns to defend their country and their elected government. They did what we may have to do, what you, under the defense program, are preparing us to do.

And not only Spaniards. Southern France is full of Italian anti-fascists. Some fought Hitler and Mussolini in Spain; others have lived for years in peaceful exile. Today they stand in imminent peril of being driven back to the tyranny from which they fled. These people, too, know at first hand what fascism means; and they know how it moves to achieve its ends.

In southern France are also thousands of anti-Nazi Germans and Austrians and Czechs and Poles and Hungarians, not to speak of anti-Nazi French. A few have been brought to this country; and for the lives of those few, liberals must be grateful. But each man or woman has run a gauntlet of suspicion and delay, some of it in the State Department, some in consular offices abroad. This attitude must be broken down, swept out of the minds and practices of our officials. You, Mr. President-elect, can do much to change a situation which has become a scandal to all decent people.

Because, you see, Americans must learn some new things. Our government, in particular, must learn to recognize as allies those men and women around the world who are fighting the battle to which we have committed ourselves. Whenever the "common people" who put you in office see a Bourbon prince from a pro-fascist state given preference as a visitor to this country over an anti-fascist hunted by the Gestapo—whenever we see that, a hand closes over our loyalty and our impulse to work and fight. We don't willingly fight for a society which prefers Bourbon princes to anti-fascists; that is the sort of society we are fighting *against*. We know our friends. We know our struggle. And we are learning ways of testing our government's understanding of these matters. If the war we are engaged in is truly a people's war, no isolationist or defeatist propaganda can diminish the fervor of the people on whom you must depend for labor and for battle. But we must be sure.

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Priorities and Defense

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 4

THE austerely non-partisan note struck by Eugene G. Grace's latest pronunciamiento on labor evoked a deplorable glee among the New Dealers, who plan to celebrate their victory by barbecuing John L. Lewis. The president of Bethlehem Steel has not bargained collectively under Mr. Roosevelt, and whatever the birdies may have told Mr. Lewis, he has no intention of bargaining collectively under Mr. Willkie. "I know of nothing," Mr. Grace said at the quarterly meeting of his board of directors, "that contemplates any change at all in our labor policy. . . . We have had no part in any action which would make our labor policy appear to be a political issue." Mr. Grace does not intend to be involved in any conspiracy to enforce the Wagner Act. Bethlehem has a backlog of $1,100,000,000 in unfilled orders. It is running at 103 per cent of its theoretical capacity. Its third-quarter income reached levels unattained in the last war. But Mr. Grace gave a sharp "No" to reporters who asked whether he would grant the C. I. O. contract Mr. Lewis expected when he became a Commonwealth and Southern subsidiary. Mr. Lewis may plead that Bethlehem's defense contracts contain escalator clauses which would add any pay increases to the government's bill. He will get nowhere with that argument. In the last war a board headed by William Howard Taft awarded a wage increase of $1,600,000 to Bethlehem employees, and the government gave Bethlehem the funds to pay it. Bethlehem allegedly took the money but ignored the award. The same Mr. Grace was president of Bethlehem then. The first task of the defense program after election is to make Mr. Grace and his fellows obey the law. This is essential to uninterrupted production; in 1918 the labor turnover at Bethlehem was 118 per cent. It is likewise essential to morale, for democracy by the grace of Bethlehem is not the democracy for which men will fight willingly at $21 a month.

Mr. Grace's quarterly report raised another crucial issue. This centers about the word "priorities," of which much will be heard in coming months. It is really the issue of monopoly in a new guise; the old struggle against a vested interest in scarcity made fiercely urgent by the needs of defense. "Priorities" give right of way to defense contracts. If a manufacturer can produce but 100 trucks a year, and he finds himself with orders on hand for 100 army trucks and 100 trucks for a private customer, a government board will give priority to the army order. Obviously there is no need for priorities when industrial output is sufficient to take care of both military and civilian needs. Priorities are only necessary when productive capacity has become inadequate. Obviously we have already reached that point, for Mr. Roosevelt has just established a Priorities Board at the Defense Commission. A fundamental question arises: Shall we meet the problem of inadequate capacity by priorities or by expanding productive capacity? To expand productive capacity is to break the back of monopoly, and Mr. Grace's motto is his monopoly right or wrong. At the meeting of the Bethlehem board he put forward an ingenious line of argument against the expansion of productive capacity. He called it "inflation in production of commodities" and said it was "a full brother to inflation in currency." This is a novel contribution to monetary theory. Inflation in currency increases prices and living costs. "Inflation" in production of commodities lowers prices and living costs. This is an odd argument and an odd terminology to issue from the circles which have been insisting, in their fight against the forty-hour week and similar New Deal reforms, that what we need is to produce more. Mr. Grace and the men for whom he speaks would rather produce less and charge more for it.

The natural tendency of the business man is toward priorities. Rather than embark on plant expansion, he would keep a backlog of orders to be filled at his convenience. In this way he gets a maximum of business on a minimum of capital investment. Priorities have other advantages for him. They cut down the supply of commodities for the civilian population as military needs absorb productive capacity. This raises prices, and the rise in prices widens profit margins and lowers real wages. The manufacturer thinks also of the losses he may suffer afterward if he extends capacity beyond normal needs. In this the reasoning of the business man is like that of the ordinary citizen who hesitates to join the army for fear that when he emerges, if he emerges, he may have lost his job and his home. The problem is met in the one case by compulsion. The ordinary citizen is drafted. If we were to meet our industrial problem in the same direct way, the government would go ahead and end the dangerous bottlenecks in machine tools, planes, engines, steel, and shipbuilding by erecting new plants now and worrying about the post-war economic problem when the war was over. The problem of priorities thus becomes the problem of whether the defense of the United States is or is not to take priority over the interests of industry. France decided to give industry priority, and the consequences are plain. England is still

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struggling to obtain priority for defense. "British industry, by and large," the London *Economist* said dryly as recently as last June 15, "has until recent weeks been making the maximum effort compatible with no disturbance to its continuation now or to its profit-making capacity hereafter."

There are three choices before industry. The first is the use of priorities. They involve an ever-increasing amount of interference in business and price-fixing. Priorities breed priorities; the truck manufacturer told to give army trucks priority must in turn have priority for the metal and machinery that goes into the trucks; and the maker of the metal and machinery must in turn have priority for the raw materials he needs. All down the line there must be protection against unreasonable prices. Thus the consequences of the policy favored by Mr. Grace and his kind will be greater government control of industry than ever. An alternative is government ownership and operation of some factories in all the bottlenecks of industry. The risk for business is that in peace time this will leave us with TVA-like yardsticks in many major industries. The TVA proved a tonic for Commonwealth and Southern, and I can think of no better way to keep capitalism limber as its waistline grows more mature. There is a third choice. Perhaps, for speed and good feeling, it is preferable. Industry can expand plant and modernize equipment with the aid of government loans or government-guaranteed bank loans. There are hazards here, too, but most of them are for the monopolists. Cheaper steel and alloys, cheap mass production of planes and machine tools would open a new future for American industry. It would give us world leadership in production, permit the maintenance on a wider scale than ever before of low prices and high wages. There is no general risk of overproduction at the lower price levels this renovation and enlargement of productive plant would enable us to reach, for at this point begins the huge market of the ill-fed, the ill-clothed, and the ill-housed. There must be other men in industry than the Graces. There must be some enterprise left among the entrepreneurs. Big business recently financed an expensive publicity campaign about the "new frontiers" waiting to be opened up in industry. Here they are. No endless prairies, no thirsty deserts are before our business men; no child crying in a covered wagon is behind them. These are frontiers that can be crossed in luxury, at government expense. Will business prove shortsighted and afraid?

The Great Axis Squeeze

BY HERBERT ROSINSKI

THE ultimate significance and success of the New Era in World History so proudly proclaimed by the three Axis partners are questions which for the time being must remain in suspense, but there can be no doubt that the new strategy of a world-wide onslaught upon the British Empire, and through it upon the United States, will mark a vital, perhaps decisive, turning-point not merely in the present war but in the age-long struggle between land power and sea power.

The remarkable influence hitherto exerted by sea power upon the course of history has resulted as much from the inferior organization of land power as from sea power's intrinsic and peculiar strength. In the course of the last three centuries Great Britain was able to overcome one vastly superior Continental rival after the other, not only because its insular position, in conjunction with its command of the sea, made it practically immune to enemy attack, but equally because the superior organization and mobility of its sea power enabled it to distract, exhaust, and finally overcome the incomparably greater resources of its opponents. By the blockade of a few focal points it was able seriously to disorganize their economic systems; by the skilful use of small expeditionary raids upon their coastal cities it imposed upon them disproportionately great protective efforts; in overseas campaigns—against France in the Iberian Peninsula or against Russia in the Crimea—exploitation of the superiority of sea over land communications enabled it to exhaust them by a ruinous strategy of attrition. From its secure position it was able, time and again, to raise the other Continental powers against its rival of the moment until the latter succumbed under the combined pressure of land and sea power. Last but not least, by cutting its opponents' lines of communications with their overseas possessions, it was able to protect its own outlying colonies as well as to isolate theirs.

Through this ability to *concentrate its efforts*—due to the fact that attack and defense coincided in the acquisition of "command of the sea," and that command of the European terminals protected both motherland and colonies—and also to *separate the forces of its opponents* so that they could be overwhelmed singly, Great Britain was able to increase its weight in the balance of power far beyond its relatively limited resources and to obtain the lion's share of overseas territories.

This felicitous state of affairs could continue, however,

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only so long, on the one hand, as the outlying parts of the empire remained essentially insular in character and the dangers threatening them came in the main "over sea," where they could be intercepted by the superior power of the British navy, and, on the other, as the Continental empires remained in the state of inferior organization that characterized them up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the course of the last century the various outlying sections of the empire began, from their coastal bases, to push deeply into the continents; at the same time the coming of the railroads enabled the great land powers for the first time efficiently to coordinate their huge sprawling bodies. Thus the pressure upon the empire began to shift from the sea to the various land frontiers, and the traditional system of centralized defense by the superior strength of the British navy became less and less capable of protecting the whole. So gradual, however, was the advance of the great land empires, and so great were the advantages still remaining to Britain through its insular position, that for several generations more it was able to stave them off by its traditional methods and as late as the World War to overcome the greatest menace it had ever had to face.

The price of that success had, indeed, to be paid at the Washington Disarmament Conference in 1921, when Great Britain had finally to recognize the independence of the United States and Japan in their respective spheres of naval preponderance. But by dismissing a conflict with the United States as impossible, by disregarding (except for the construction of the great naval base at Singapore) the increasingly imminent threat of an armed clash with Japan, and by concentrating its attention upon the maintenance of its position in the Old World, Great Britain could still hope to rely upon its traditional pattern of imperial defense: namely, the protection of motherland *and* empire by the establishment of naval superiority in European waters; the concentration on a war of attrition, waged by blockade; the isolation of the enemy's positions by sea power and the protection of its own by relatively small forces on land and in the air.

For the first eight months of the present war that system, except for the unexpected success of the German invasion of Norway across the Skagerrak and Kattegat, worked surprisingly well; but with the collapse of France and the entry of Italy into the war, its foundations were rudely overthrown. The attempt to bring the war to a rapid conclusion by an invasion in force of the British Isles has, indeed, happily been foiled; but the price has been nothing less than the temporary immobilization of the bulk of the forces of the empire in the defense of the mother country. Thanks to the brilliant and devoted cooperation of the R. A. F., the British navy has demonstrated that in its own element sea power still reigns supreme, but the margin of superiority which it has been able to establish over the enemy has been so narrow that behind its shield no fewer than two million men have had to stand under arms in order to protect the country against a surprise attack by an army of invasion not exceeding half a million at the utmost.

Although foiled in his original intention, Hitler has found himself in a position where he can turn all the traditional weapons of sea power against itself. By keeping the threat of invasion permanently suspended over the nerve centers of the British, he forces them to maintain this excessive concentration of man-power, while with the bulk of his forces he is able to strike overland, with unprecedented mobility and strength, at the weakly defended links of the empire. By utilizing the overwhelming strength of his military machine to impose his control upon the whole Continent, he is systematically strengthening himself against the stranglehold of the blockade, depriving Great Britain of any foothold for a counterstroke, and at the same time preparing the way for a shattering blow at the backbone of the empire.

From what we know about the Nazi leaders and their ideas, this new strategy is something more than an improvisation to disguise the failure of their plans for invasion and shift the war over the winter season into the Mediterranean; it is something more even than merely the brilliant exploitation of a new situation. Behind it stands a deliberate plan to break the hold of sea power over the Continent once and for all by systematically turning its own weapons against it. Sea power was able to baffle and finally to overwhelm land power as long as it could withdraw at will from the latter's grip into the element where it reigned supreme, and from there exercise its powers over the land. Now, however, by striking overland at the empire's continental links, land power would force sea power to accept the issue on its own ground, where it can array overwhelming superiority.

Sea power, by practically trusting the defense of the empire to the establishment of naval superiority over its European rivals, had been capable of carrying out that defense with a minimum of effort; now land power, striking simultaneously at the various links in this world-encircling empire, would force upon it a decentralization of its defensive effort that would overstrain its limited resources. Sea power, by isolating its opponent from the sea and encircling him on the land, had been able to bring him to his knees by economic stranglehold alone; now land power, breaking through that ring by its overwhelming striking power, would extend its Continental empire so far as to make itself practically blockade-proof, while at the same time, with the new weapons of submarine and aerial warfare, it would attempt to impose a counter-blockade upon its opponent.

Finally, sea power, immune against attack by sea, had hitherto been able to choose the time and place for its own blows, enjoying to the utmost the power of the

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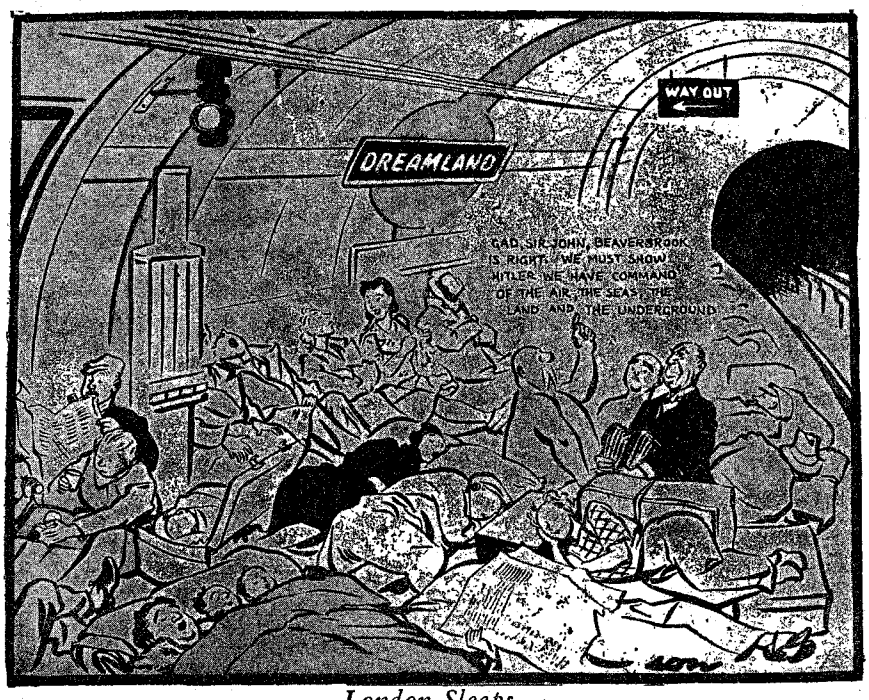
attacker to distract his opponent. Now the roles have changed: sea power has been thrown back and pinned down to the defensive, and land power, able to defy under present-day conditions any serious attempt upon its coasts, can itself use all the powers of initiative and distraction in its overland attack upon the outlying parts of the empire.

In the light of all this it is not astonishing that Adolf Hitler should more and more feel himself to be the successor of Napoleon in his titanic struggle against the sea power of Great Britain, destined by the skilful use of the infinitely greater technical means at his disposal to succeed where the other had succumbed.

The fall of Egypt before a combined attack from Palestine and Libya would undoubtedly entail the loss of the whole of Africa up to the frontiers of the Union, and in addition, in all probability, the loss of the Near East up to the gates of India. Thus, the empire would be broken into two widely separate areas—Great Britain and Canada on the one side; India, Australia, and New Zealand on the other. Economically the closing of the Suez Canal might not affect communications between these two isolated blocks as seriously as it would appear to do at first sight, since shipping between them has already been largely diverted to the safer, though longer, route through the Panama Canal, a route which bids fair to replace that of Suez as the central lifeline of the empire. But strategically the loss of that interior line would tend to upset the whole British system of defense, which is based upon the dual role of the Mediterranean fleet as a check upon the Italian navy and a central reserve whence reinforcements could be rushed to either extreme of the line. It is a well-known fact that during the past few years the Mediterranean fleet has been rendered more and more important as an imperial reserve by the possibility that it might have to be rushed to the Far East to meet a Japanese attack.

It is at this point that Japan's accession to the military alliance of the two Western Axis powers intervenes to complete the new strategy of a coordinated world-wide drive against the British Empire. With half the British forces in northern waters pinned down by the threat of an invasion of the British Isles and the necessity of keeping the sea lanes to them open; with the other half pinned down by the Italian navy's persistent refusal to give the British Mediterranean fleet the opportunity of eliminating it by a decisive knockout blow; with Hitler's mechanized armies poised to rush across Asia Minor and Syria and cut the jugular vein of imperial naval defenses; Japan, by openly ranging itself on the side of the Axis, is able to hold over the British position in the Far East the imminent threat of an attack in full force, to which the British would at the moment be unable to oppose more than the weak cruiser and submarine forces in that area. Such an attack—striking not at Singapore, which is too well fortified to succumb to an *attaque brusquée*, however strong, nor at the Philippines, but in all probability at the Dutch East Indies, in particular at Borneo, which is the key of the whole situation because of its oil—would, if successful, make Japan economically blockade-proof, complete the encirclement of the Philippines, and interpose an advanced base between India on the one side and Australia and New Zealand on the other.

By thus threatening vital joint British and American interests in the Far East at the moment when the British fleet is unable to afford them adequate protection, the strategy of the Axis powers hopes not only still further to distract British attention and forces, but at the same time to place the United States on the horns of a perplexing dilemma. On the one hand, as the Axis powers are well aware, the United States could not possibly remain indifferent to the prospect of a successful Japanese onslaught upon the British and Dutch empires in the Far East. On the other, intervention would be fraught with a host of difficulties. A mere economic embargo, without the military means to parry any Japanese attempt to counter it by a *coup de force*, would be fatal. The dispatch, however, of a substantial part of the American battle fleet to Singapore would threaten to embroil the United States in a war with Japan that would draw upon all its resources and consequently restrict the assistance which is at present enabling Great Britain to hold its own on the ultimately decisive European battlefield. Nothing is better calculated to bring home the gran-


WAY OUT
DREAMLAND
GAD, SIR JOHN, BEAVERBROOK IS RIGHT. WE MUST SHOW HITLER WE HAVE COMMAND OF THE AIR, THE SEA, THE LAND AND THE UNDERGROUND

London Sleeps,

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diose sweep of the world-wide political and military onslaught upon the British Empire than this gigantic "squeeze," which, starting from the threat of invasion on the Channel, aims, by the distraction of the whole British front from Gibraltar via Greece and the Near East to Singapore, to induce the United States to restrict the assistance it has given so far to the defense on the Channel. Nothing better illustrates the revolutionary forces by which the whole world is being drawn into one huge maelstrom.

The Jews Are Not Alone

BY WILLIAM ZUKERMAN

IN ONE of his great war cartoons the inimitable David Low depicts Hitler driving European humanity, in the figure of Christ, up a steep hill to its crucifixion. Mad with rage, Hitler lashes the quivering body and shouts, "I'll make an Aryan of you." The picture is a true representation of Europe under the Nazis. At the same time it points to a significant change which the war has introduced into the Jewish scene in Europe and probably throughout the world.

That the scene is utterly dark is now a truism. The world seems to have accepted the Nazi persecution of the Jews as an incontestable fact with which it must come to terms. Hitler has reduced to the commonplace even so awful a tragedy as the literal extermination of a people. He has standardized Jewish persecution like everything else, and Jewish news is now the same in all Nazi-occupied territories. One who knows the story of the Jews in Berlin for the last seven years knows also what their fate has been in Vienna, Prague, Warsaw, Amsterdam, Brussels, Copenhagen, Oslo, Paris, Bratislava, Budapest, Bucharest—in any European city under the Nazi heel.

The war, which has brought about so many changes in Europe, seems on a superficial view to have left the Jewish problem untouched. In reality, however, the great upheaval which it started and which is now revolutionizing the mind and soul as well as the face of Europe, is penetrating even into the hitherto impregnable citadel of Nazi doctrine. It is only externally that the dismal Jewish scene has remained the same. Men of genius like Low, and even ordinary observers of war-time Europe who look below the surface, have noticed that the current is changing and have glimpsed a promise of some distant hope for this most tragic situation.

It is common knowledge that the Nazis introduced a new type of anti-Semitism, or at least made new use of the ancient evil. Jew-hatred, for them, has not been an aim in itself but a tool for the attainment of other purposes. They have used anti-Semitism as a smoke screen for advances in other fields, or one might say as a scaffolding behind which another edifice, their real purpose, was hidden and constructed. To use a historical illustration, the Jewish problem was to the Nazis in the field of propaganda what Belgium was supposed to have been to the Kaiser in the field of military operations, a stepping-stone to the capture of Paris and the domination of Europe. If this is true—and the entire history of Nazism is confirmation of the view—the war has introduced a definite change into the situation. For those larger aims of Germany have now been in the main achieved. The Nazis have reached their Paris; they are now masters of the continent of Europe. Anti-Jewish feeling has served its purpose and can be relegated to its proper place. The Nazi edifice is ready, and the scaffolding can be removed.

This does not mean that the Nazis have had a change of heart toward the Jews, or that there is hope that they will abandon anti-Semitism in the future. But it does mean that the fierce, almost morbid concentration on anti-Semitic propaganda as an instrument of political, economic, and diplomatic policy is bound to diminish because it is no longer necessary and also, perhaps, because very few people are now left who can be taken in by this obvious bluff. The Jewish problem is being absorbed by a bigger problem. The Nazis have found a new object of persecution—the non-Jewish European nations. In the terms of Low, Hitler has now Aryanized Christ and is proceeding to crucify the Aryan nations of Europe as he has crucified the Jews. The new and larger spectacle necessarily obscures the older and smaller one. Absorbed by the bigger task, the Nazis can no longer be so preoccupied with the Jews. At the same time their Jewish and non-Jewish victims are being brought together as never before, and their separate ordeals are blending into one great tragedy.

That this process is actually going on can be confirmed by every European observer of the Jewish scene. Strange signs of it have come from Germany, from the Nazis themselves; the very first months of the war saw some curious lapses from orthodox Nazi theory. The ban on Jewish doctors, for example, the first and strongest of the Nazi commandments, has been flagrantly violated, if not officially repudiated, by the Reich government. Jewish

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doctors who for one reason or another have not been able to leave Germany are being invited, and if invitation does not avail, conscripted, into military hospitals to tend the wounded. In many cities, Jewish medical practitioners are being allowed to resume civilian practice too. The concentration camps in Germany, Austria, and the Sudetenland are being scoured for Jewish physicians who have withstood the torture of years and remained alive; when found, they are given their freedom and placed at good salaries in German military hospitals.

Similar leniency is being shown toward Jewish engineers and mechanics, who are getting jobs and equal treatment with Aryans in all munition factories. The ban has even been lifted on Jews in the German army; Jewish young men of military age are being conscripted into labor battalions. In short, the famous race theory, the rock upon which the Nazi faith was built, has been swept away by the first emergency of the war. That huge mountain of racial laws and decrees piled up for seven years to prove that the Jew is a natural parasite who cannot be useful, whose very skill is a curse, and whose presence is a dishonor has been conveniently removed by so simple a device as a special badge marked W. N. J.—for *Wirtschaftlich Notwendige Juden* (Economically Necessary Jews). The doctrine which has been repeatedly proclaimed as the very essence of Nazism, as an eternal law of nature written in the heart and blood of every German, has been calmly sacrificed for the services of a few hundred skilled physicians, engineers, and mechanics. Hitler's pact with the Communists was no greater evidence of Nazi cynicism.

The German people in all sincerity seem to have a more friendly attitude toward the Jews since the outbreak of the war. Informed persons know that the rationing laws alone would have caused the death of every Jewish man, woman, and child in Germany if brave and simple people among their German neighbors had not aided them with food, fuel, and clothing. Of these kindnesses there is ample evidence in the numerous reports of penalties for such conduct published in the Nazi press.

Still more significant signs are visible in the countries now under German domination. It is a known fact that in all Nazi-occupied territory, with the single exception of Poland, anti-Semitic propaganda has failed dismally despite the pressure of the Nazi super-efficient propaganda machine, aided by the military machine. The Czechs, the Danes, the Norwegians, the Dutch, the Belgians, the French, all stubbornly refuse to be influenced by the Nazi anti-Jewish drives, and all resist passively the introduction of anti-Jewish laws and regulations. In all the occupied countries the segregation of Jewish professional men and business enterprises is ignored; a Jewish sign on a shop is often a signal for a rush of buyers. Jews are secretly provided with food and other rationed articles of which they are officially deprived. In the greater part of Nazi-occupied Europe there is more sympathy for the Jews now than ever before. In fact, the most frequent grievance of the Nazi press in Germany is that the conquered populations are not cooperating in the regulation of the Jewish problem. (A recent article in the *Schwarze Korps* complained bitterly that even the notorious Quisling was not a good anti-Semite.) In short, both inside and outside Germany there is developing a new realization of the particular role which the Nazi brand of anti-Semitism has played in the present subjection and enslavement of Europe. Millions of people who used to take Nazi anti-Semitism at its face value have suddenly been made to look behind its screen and to discover the Nazis' true objective—world domination and the enslavement of all other nationalities. The non-Jewish European world has come to see that in the face of a common enemy the problems of the Jew and the non-Jew are the same.

It is gratifying for a Jewish observer to report that the same consciousness of the unity of their interests is now penetrating the Jewish masses of Europe. The old feeling of isolation, quite understandably strengthened in recent years by Nazi persecution, is giving way before the new and stronger forces let loose by the Nazi invasions. The various movements for a nationalistic solution of the Jewish problem, which were so strong before the war, are now receding into the background. With so many states, big and small, crumbling into dust, hope that the problem might be solved by the establishment of a Jewish state has of necessity faded. Even the most ardent nationalist must now realize that the principle of national separation has failed and that the tendency is toward the unification of states and peoples. As a result, most minor, purely Jewish questions are being sunk in the all-important problem facing the whole of democratic mankind—that of fighting the Nazi menace. From personal experience in war-time England I can affirm that British Jews at the moment feel more completely at one with the non-Jewish world than any Jewish community has ever felt before. And England was until the outbreak of the war the political and spiritual center of Zionism.

Under the lash of one of the greatest tyrannies in history, a great portion of European humanity, without distinction of nationality, race, or religion, is being driven up a new Calvary to its crucifixion. But in the midst of this terrible tragedy, the various peoples quivering under the Nazi blows are learning painfully the great lesson of the sameness of interest and unity of aim of all persecuted and oppressed peoples. All are now reorienting themselves psychologically to meet a new world in which their smaller national differences will be subordinated to the larger interests of humanity. The Jews are contributing their share toward the realization of this hope.

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The Utilities Keep It Dark

BY DAN HARGRAVES

WHEN advertising pulls its punches and says a great deal less about a new product than it could say truthfully it provides material for a news story that follows the man-bites-dog formula. Advertising has been doing just that in the case of the new fluorescent tube lighting which is beginning to appear here and there in stores and offices. The fact that is of greatest interest to the prospective buyer of lighting is that this new light source produces from 100 to 200 per cent more light than incandescent lamps for the same amount of electrical energy. But the advertising done by the manufacturers of fluorescent tube lamps seldom, if ever, mentions this verifiable fact.

In order to understand this unwonted reticence on the part of the large lamp manufacturers, it is necessary to look at the relationship between them and the privately owned utilities which produce electricity for lighting. The General Electric and Westinghouse companies, which between them control the Mazda patents covering tungsten-filament incandescent lamps, enjoy a virtual monopoly in lamp manufacture; that is, they make approximately 80 per cent of the lamp bulbs, and by granting licenses to use their patents control a large part of the competition. The public-utility companies are among their largest customers for lamps. But lamp manufacture is only a part of their business; they make and sell all types of electrical equipment, from giant turbines and generators to flatirons and wiring devices. For power-station equipment the utilities are practically their only customers, and for the sale of appliances and wiring devices they are very greatly dependent on utility good-will.

Fluorescent lighting has been an actuality in the laboratories of the lamp companies for a number of years. There may have been some pressure to keep it there, but when the engineers who lighted the two World's Fairs demanded it for decorative lighting for their buildings and exhibits, the cat was out of the bag. It is probable that the two big lamp companies were eager to seize the tremendous opportunity created by the public display of this new type of lighting. Their basic Mazda patents on incandescent lighting were shortly to run out, and one large independent manufacturer claimed patents on fluorescent tube lights which promised real competition.

At this point the electric-utility companies really became worried. Their relations with the public had been none too good in recent years, and they dared not appear to be standing in the way of progress by unqualified denunciation of this new development. On the other hand, it offered a real threat to their revenues in one of their most profitable fields, commercial lighting, for which rates are invariably higher than for domestic use. Conferences became frequent, and it was apparent that the companies planned to act together.

George Whitwell, vice-president of the Philadelphia Electric Company and chairman of the Edison Electric Institute's "Better Light—Better Sight Bureau," expressed their point of view. As quoted by *Tide*, an advertising trade magazine, Mr. Whitwell said, "Utilities are not opposed to any sound technical development of which fluorescent is an example, even though reductions in revenue, which over the years may be substantial, are involved. . . . *But utilities will oppose advertising which stresses reduced cost of electricity.*" (Italics mine.) Whether the hint was broad enough for the lamp companies, or whether it was made plainer for them privately, you will look in vain in any advertising by the makers of fluorescent light sources for a direct statement that fluorescent lighting will reduce your electric bill.

The action taken by individual utility companies to protect their profitable commercial-lighting revenues will vary in detail but not in direction. Any consumer of electricity, particularly if he buys lighting for a store or office, can easily check the attitude of his local electric utility by letting it be known that he is interested in fluorescent lighting. He is quite likely to be visited by a pleasant young man whose sole aim in life seems to be to protect the electric company's customers from people who are trying to sell them gold bricks. His argument is likely to be that fluorescent is most interesting, and excellent for certain minor lighting jobs, but that it is far from the stage of practical application for general lighting. He will probably do an artful job of damning with faint praise since his sales talk, or more accurately, no-sales talk, is the product of the big brains of the industry.

The consumer will be told that fluorescent tube lighting requires fairly elaborate starting and control auxiliaries, and that more fixtures may be required to secure proper spread of light. He is not likely to be reminded that incandescent lamps, which are, in effect, miniature suns, require expensive reflecting and diffusing fixtures to achieve reasonable uniformity of lighting, and that much useful light is lost through this necessary protection against glare. Nor will he be informed that fluorescent tubes have the source of light spread over at least ten times as great an area, and that their surface brightness is so low that they may be exposed to the eye without

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discomfort, and therefore need less elaborate fixtures.

Much will be made of the fact that fluorescent lighting tubes require a brief warm-up period like radio tubes, and do not operate satisfactorily at outdoor winter temperatures. One is less likely to hear that these tubes have twice the useful life of incandescent lights, and produce less than half the amount of heat. Mention will probably be made of such technical matters as "stroboscopic effect," a sometimes perceptible flicker due to the pulsations of alternating current. The fact that this can be avoided by installing the tubes properly in pairs may or may not be mentioned.

If the consumer persists in trying fluorescent lights, he is likely to be told that he will need much more of this daylight-colored light than he needed of the yellowish light from incandescent lamps. Science may be abandoned at this point for arguments based entirely on taste and popular notions of how artificial lighting should appear to the eye. But if the measurable intensity of light required for the job in hand is considered, from 60 to 100 footcandles may be mentioned, whereas up to a year ago from 30 to 50 footcandles were considered adequate, if not ideal, for all ordinary purposes.

Many electric utilities have taken the initiative in warning their customers by letter and booklet to go slowly in accepting this new lighting development; they have even offered the services of the utilities' lighting engineers—impartial, of course—in checking any proposed installation. Some have gone farther to make sure that other elements in the industry "play ball." When independent distributors have been more enthusiastic in their selling methods than the utilities desired, manufacturers have been induced to take away their franchises.

The experience of one of the larger electric distributing organizations, an affiliate of a large electrical manufacturer, is particularly revealing. This organization trained a group of young men in the sale of fluorescent lighting and sent them as a sales crew into a region where competition was threatening. The utilities demanded, and got, the privilege of reviewing any proposals made for the relighting of stores, to make sure that these relighting jobs were "properly engineered." They were frank in saying to the distributor that "properly engineered" meant that there was to be no reduction in the total amount of electricity consumed. Needless to say, the results of the sales drive were disappointing.

The utility companies are still worried. They know that this revolutionary form of lighting cannot be stopped altogether, and that they are fighting a rearguard action. They will doubtless continue to fight it because every delay in the public acceptance of fluorescent lighting means more dollars in their pockets, but they are not unaware of the delicacy of their position. Many utility companies devote considerable energy and expense to the promotion of various types of electrical apparatus whose chief appeal to the customer is the long-run saving which will offset the high initial cost. Electric refrigeration, for example, requires a sizable investment, but offers a continuous saving at the expense of the ice industry. This argument may occur to some consumers when the high initial cost of fluorescent lighting is emphasized. The only discernible difference here is in whose ox is gored.

Another element of inconsistency in the stand taken by the electric utilities is of even broader public interest. Despite the development of large public-power projects in recent years, there exists a real danger of a production bottle-neck at the point of power supply. National power production is now reaching a new all-time high. Many utilities are announcing, with appropriate fanfare, the expansion of their power facilities to take care of defense needs. Under the circumstances, the question may well be asked whether the zeal of privately owned utilities to keep their commercial lighting loads at present levels does not work against a sound public policy of power conservation.

English War Slang

BY LESTER V. BERREY

WAR is notoriously a fertile hotbed of slang. When men are transplanted en masse from their accustomed mode of life into a strange environment and given unfamiliar tasks, they need a new vocabulary to describe the unfamiliar activities and objects. The War Department may be somewhat dilatory, but the verbal arsenal is always full of shot and shell.

The first crop of war slang has naturally not been fully garnered, although H. L. Mencken in the *Readers' Digest* has already assembled some of the choicest items. The prolific coinages of the first World War have not been sufficient. With the technique of warfare radically different, armies no longer use chiefly the language of the trenches but that of the air. And the civilian population follows suit. Long before the air attacks on England began, the people had come to know the London anti-aircraft barrage as the *rat-trap* and aptly called the balloons *flying elephants*. They dubbed the giant searchlight *Paul Pry*, and called one that diffuses its beam a *bearded lady*. Their two most familiar friends are the sisters *Mona* and *Clara*, the air-raid and all-clear signals, in whose names we recognize the moaning of the warning sirens and a contraction of the welcome "all clear."

The vocabulary of this war does not come to civilians at second hand. They have seen the great German dive bombers come arrowing out of the sky, like giant birds swooping down to *lay their eggs*. They call them *cuckoos*, in allusion to the cuckoo's habit of laying its eggs in another bird's nest. They know from their own experience the meaning of *flying pig*, an aerial torpedo, and of

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crump hole, the crater made by its explosion. They have watched with grim awe the brilliant *fireworks* of the large anti-aircraft shells, or *onions,* as the *Archies* blast the skies over their heads. They have cheered the rout of the *Jerries* as the *Spits* (British Spitfire fighter planes) come swiftly to the rescue, and have watched a plane *flying streamers* as it swirls downward to its doom.

Not all of the words made current by the war are entirely new. *Scrounge* is one of the most familiar heritages of 1914-18—evidently dialectal, with the sense of squeezing, from which its significance of "pinching" (stealing) naturally developed. But whereas the word was formerly restricted to stealing from military departments, it is now applied to the petty pilfering of public property during blackouts.

Warphan is a blend of *war* and *orphan,* a horrible word held over from the former war and given a greater currency to designate the pitiful youngster who has lost both parents in this war in which the citizenry has suffered more than its defenders. A newborn brother to it is *vackie,* for the child evacuated overseas.

Abbreviation is a characteristic of all war slang. Thus ammunition becomes *ammo,* a Messerschmitt plane an *Me,* torpedoes are *torps,* and fast German torpedo boats are *E-boats—E* for enemy. Just as members of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps were called *Anzacs* during the first World War, the French call members of the Royal Air Force, *les Rafs.* The English in general they call *Titeems,* from tea time.

The word that has received the greatest currency at home and abroad is *blitz,* used as both noun and verb. It carries the implication of bombardment on a much grander scale than the 1914 contribution of *strafe,* and will probably probably find as permanent a place in the language of war. *Fritzkrieg* is facetious for a German bombardment. Also from *Blitzkrieg* comes the dreaded *blitzflu.*

Flap, a scare or alarm, originated with the air service, but the R. A. F. in general has given us few linguistic innovations. A pursuit plane is still a *peashooter.* The commander of an airfield is called the *stationmaster.* Bombers *leave calling cards* with the enemy. A *fog factory* is a locality where fogs are plentiful. When he gets lost in the fog, a pilot is said to *tangle in the soup. To fly by the seat of one's pants* is to navigate a plane by one's flying instinct, rather than by instruments. *Scramble* is R. A. F. for a fight. *Kicking her into a maneuver* is descriptive of the dextrous artifices required to dodge anti-aircraft and pursuit-plane fire. Staying out of the enemy plane's sights is called *keeping the tail clear.*

To brown off (to be bored, fed up) is descriptive of the tedium endured during the protracted period of inactivity before the *Blitzkrieg* on England. The way British morale has stood up in the ensuing nightmare is exemplified by the popular gesture, *thumbs up.*

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Wall Street on Guard

ON SEPTEMBER 1 the following ruling by the Committee on Member Firms of the New York Stock Exchange became effective, subject to temporary exemptions to those members requiring time to adjust their existing methods:

> Any member, allied member, or member firm acting as an odd-lot dealer or specialist or otherwise publicly dealing for his or its own account (directly or indirectly through a joint account or other arrangement) on another exchange in securities listed on the New York Stock Exchange shall be subject to proceedings under Section 8 of Article XVI.

The object of this ruling is to put an end to the practice known as multiple trading: the penalties provided by the section of the constitution of the Stock Exchange invoked are suspension or exclusion. The vast majority of citizens, I fancy, if they noticed the announcement of this ruling in the financial pages of the newspapers, dismissed it as a purely technical matter, of interest only to financial professionals. Actually it has a far wider significance, for it is a step by the New York Stock Exchange to protect its near-monopoly of the nation's security business. In addition, it represents a challenge to the SEC, which has been attempting to raise the status of the out-of-town exchanges with a view to assisting decentralization of the investment business. It is for this reason that Commissioner Sumner T. Pike, by no means the most radical member of the SEC and a former Wall Street man himself, has asked the New York Stock Exchange to rescind the multiple-trading rule.

So long as the New York Stock Exchange was enjoying frequent million-share days it was not worried by losing a small amount of business to Cleveland or Chicago. But during the past two years the steady shrinkage in volume has produced a hungry mood in Wall Street. It is well known that the business now available is quite insufficient to pay the overheads and leave a profit for all the members of the Stock Exchange. Expenses have been cut down, but the whole apparatus is still geared to a turnover which can hardly be attained unless there is a revival of the speculative orgies of the past. A number of members, it is said, are hanging on, desperately hoping that Willkie will win and happy days be here again. If he doesn't, they say, they will throw up the sponge and seek a more lucrative way of life.

Meanwhile Wall Street, with too large a family to provide for, is unwilling to assist the growth of its provincial cousins. The latter, it is alleged, have been unfairly pampered by the SEC, which has encouraged unlisted trading on the out-of-town exchanges of securities fully listed in New York. In order to provide good markets for such stocks, the local exchanges appointed specialists to look after them. Specialists often have to maintain inventories of the stocks they deal in, and they must have capital. It happened, therefore, that in some cases the members taking on this job were also sufficiently well-to-do to be members of the New York exchange as well. These are the boys against whom the new

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rule is aimed. The complaint against them in Wall Street is that they do not, in fact, make effective markets on the outside exchanges but carry on their business almost entirely "off the New York tape." As the special committee which reported last February to the governors of the New York Stock Exchange put it:

> In effect, through the facilities of the New York Stock Exchange members, the floor of the New York exchange is transferred to the floor of the local exchanges, with little or no expense to the local-exchange members. Such local-exchange members, through the existence of the local-exchange market, avoid the necessity of transmitting the order to a member of the New York Stock Exchange and the payment of New York Stock Exchange non-member commissions.

In asking the New York exchange to cancel the multiple-trading rule, Mr. Pike asserted that an investigation by the staff of the SEC showed that its enforcement would be injurious to the regional exchanges and thus to the investing public. He pointed out that three-quarters of the nation's total stock trading is done on the New York exchange, while over half of that on the regional exchanges is accounted for by New York member firms. By using this powerful position to impair the efficiency of outside markets—and this is what the new rule does—the New York exchange tends to force the investor to do business through Wall Street even though this may be expensive and inconvenient. For instance, the man in Chicago who wants to sell fifty "Steel" is liable to the New York State transfer tax if he is compelled to deal in New York instead of in his home town.

In February, 1938, Justice Douglas, then chairman of the SEC, stated in a public address:

> While our national economic welfare rests on the welfare of small business, our national financial machinery is geared almost exclusively to large business. Financing of small business is only one phase of the problem of devlopment of local or regional capital and securities markets.

The overcentralization of investment business in New York both nourishes and feeds on the overconcentration of wealth. New York, because of its near-monopoly of capital markets, sucks in the savings of the whole country. But Wall Street is a really good market only for the securities of the major corporations. They are the ones that provide the turnover and get the publicity, and they are what the investor is encouraged to buy. The smaller corporation with only a state or regional reputation is infrequently welcomed to the "Big Board," and even if it does receive a listing, it is likely to languish because New York dealers are too busy trying to sell "Steel" and "Motors" to bother very much about concerns less widely known.

Today there are a dozen big centers of population whose exchanges should serve to canalize local capital into local industry. But in order to grow to the extent necessary to handle this job and to gain the support of investors in their districts, these regional exchanges must get a share of the bread-and-butter business provided by dealing in the "blue chips." The Chicago broker who establishes relations with a Winetka investor by selling him fifty du Pont may be able to go on and interest him in a local chemical company whose potentialities he has been able to study. That is the kind of development that the SEC rightly is trying to encourage.

In the Wind

NO RIFT EXISTS between F. D. R. and Joe Kennedy, insiders insist. They maintain that the reports were actually inspired by New Dealers to drum up interest in Kennedy's preelection broadcast.

THERE'S A MINOR UPROAR among baseball players, sports writers say, because Kenesaw M. Landis, baseball commissioner, didn't lobby for special draft arrangements for ball teams. They wanted to train six months at a time and play ball the other six.

SHORT-WAVE ITEM: A German broadcast in Hindustani from the German station at Zeesen said: "We, the German people, respect Mahatma Gandhi just as much as we do Adolf Hitler. Herr Hitler has the same principles as Mahatma Gandhi. National Socialism, too, teaches non-violence."

ROBERT SHERWOOD, the playwright, has been called in as an adviser to help "build morale" among draftees. There will also be a morale drive on the home front.

IN THE FINAL WEEKS of the campaign the Chicago *Tribune,* F. D. R.'s worst enemy among the press, ran a battle page for Democratic and Republican propaganda. But after a few days the impartiality became too painful; so the *Tribune* added a third column blasting Roosevelt.

WHEN GARDNER JACKSON quit Labor's Non-Partisan League he wrote a letter quoting Justice Holmes's remark, "Every man's major premise should be his realization that he is not God." The line was suggested to Jackson by a justice of the Supreme Court.

IN FULL-PAGE ADS attacking the New Deal, the Willkie Youth Committee denounced the Administration because Joe Lash was working for the Independent Voters Committee for Roosevelt. It charged that Lash had led the "pro-Russian" Student Union, but neglected to mention that he resigned after it indorsed the invasion of Finland.

THE NEW DEAL got one big break in the last week of the campaign. When Stephen T. Early kicked a Negro policeman, the only newspaper to get a picture of him doing it was one of those rarities, a pro-Administration paper. The picture wasn't published, and the AP couldn't buy it.

WHEN UNION organizers were beaten up outside the Ford plant in 1937, the union charged a number of Ford "service men" with assault. The accused men disappeared and were never prosecuted. One of them, union attorneys have learned, has been employed for the last year at the Ford exhibit at the World's Fair.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

SO FAR as our own young men are concerned I am almost more afraid of this winter than this war. The sawmills are buzzing, and the pine trees today may be boards in a barracks tomorrow. The army hopes so. But in some places it has had to seek lodgings for carpenters as far off as fifty miles from their hammering. Meanwhile, the new soldiers are on their way.

I am not one of those who regard the present crop of young men as soft, but I know they are mortal and as susceptible to cold and the bugs which often accompany it as to the most beautifully designed bombs. The army knows that, too. In October, at Camp Edward in Massachusetts alone, it began to build a group of ninety-three medical buildings. Similar units are undoubtedly under construction elsewhere. There is bound to be sickness among so many thousand men. Even though the carpenters hammer with such fury on the new lumber from the sawmills that none of the young men will be still living in tents when winter sets in, problems of housing and health will remain.

Housing is only one aspect of the health problem involved in the speedy assemblage of so many men. I hope the Army Medical Corps understands the dimensions of its task, but one of the ablest physicians I know is deeply disturbed by what looks to him like lack of foresight—"not to mention lethargy and stupidity"—on the part of those who have been training the reserve officers in the Army Medical Corps, who, as this defense program proceeds, are going to provide the medical care in the hugely expanded military force.

A fourth-year medical student had just been in to see the doctor about an internship in a hospital with which the older man is connected. The doctor asked the young medico about the experience he had had during his summer vacations, particularly during the summer just passed. The young man said that he had had no medical experience because he was in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps of the Medical Department of the army. He had been in camp at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, for six weeks.

"Well," said the doctor, "of course, you learned considerable there about the medical handling of troops, examination of recruits, camp sanitation, building and care of latrines, the prevention of dysentery, typhoid, and other infectious diseases."

"No," said the young man, "we spent the majority of our time learning the manual of arms."

It turned out, the doctor told me, that during the six weeks' training period of 420 fourth-year medical students who next spring will be commissioned as second lieutenants in the reserve corps of the army, almost no time was devoted to military medicine. Except for one day a week the days were all consumed with setting-up exercises, learning the manual of arms, drill, and studying military tactics. During the six weeks there were two or three lectures on camp sanitation and one demonstration of sanitary precautions at bivouac. Once a week there was a sham battle, with practice in carrying litters and a demonstration of the routine from dressing station to base hospital.

"This young man felt," the doctor said, "that possibly the summer was of more value to him and his comrades than he realized at the time in that at least they were taught a certain amount of military discipline. But he felt that the same amount of discipline could have been taught through medical activities which would at the same time have given them a great deal more knowledge of the medical necessities of troops. He felt that when he had finished his six weeks' training about all he had learned was the routine of drill, the manual of arms, and some military tactics, none of which would be of value to him in any capacity in which he would be called to serve during actual war."

This is second-hand testimony, undoubtedly. Young doctors who expect to be commissioned seldom testify out loud about those who are to give them their commissions. And older doctors, except in official capacity, do not criticize the profession even when it is in arms. But the Army Medical Corps is going to be the doctors of a large part of America now—a part of America congregated by the thousands in a first winter in barracks which, despite the efforts of the colonels and the carpenters, promise to be at least hurriedly built. The emphasis, in this crisis, is on the production of man-power and motor-power. This is a big army, for America, that we are mobilizing. And the last time we mobilized such an army more men died of disease than were killed in war.

A soldier does not have to go to Europe or the Far East to die. If this young reservist slandered his Medical Corps teachers, the Medical Corps will still survive. But if, as the older doctor thought on the basis of the young man's testimony, there is lethargy at least in the Medical Corps' training methods, some of the soldiers who ought to survive may not.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Notes by the Way

NOVELS based on a revolutionary theme have acquired a prestige, especially among writers, quite out of proportion to the relatively few successful ones that have appeared so far. They are, of course, indigenous to the revolutionary times; more important, the attempt to understand and find some order in the social forces at work in the world is at least the beginning of affirmation—that is why the blurbs for such books always end with a declaration of the author's profound faith in mankind. (By the same token I suspect the "prerevolutionary" school of hard-boiled realism, which is essentially negative in its approach, has had its day.)

The reason why there have been so few successful novels of this kind is not obscure. The novelist who wishes to write in the tradition, brief but impressive, of Malraux and Silone, must combine the powers of artist and critic in a new and delicate balance. Good art has always required the critical capacity for selection, design, and broad conception; it has also required, since "every force has its form," the artistic capacity for submission to the material and its force. But the problem of balance becomes more difficult if only because the social conception which underlies such books as those of Malraux and Silone is less easily translated into unconscious individual human motive and behavior than, say, a conception based on Christian ethics; it can easily be turned into a mechanical, vise-like pattern, rather than transmuted into the moral vision of a work of art. And in the self-conscious process of correlating social and human behavior the writer runs the risk of clipping his own wings and those of his characters.

It is a tribute to the French genius of André Malraux that "Man's Fate," which was the first, still remains the best of the revolutionary novels, though Silone's books are only less impressive. But a growing number of writers are working with more or less success in a form whose difficulties are a measure of its possibilities; and one of the most interesting of these is Ralph Bates. His latest book, "The Fields of Paradise" (E. P. Dutton, $2.50), is set in Mexico. It tells the story of Felipe, "a man of the paths" who in the course of his travels as an itinerant maker and seller of fireworks comes to the village of San Lorenzo, as yet untouched by the revolution. The light-hearted, confident Felipe comes into conflict with the masters of the town; he is thrown into jail, where he organizes a break that becomes a successful revolt. There follows a bloodless but bitter struggle with the church in the person of Canon Mendoza. Meanwhile, Felipe, caught in the net of responsibility woven by his own impulses and acts, including his love for the Indian girl Candelaria, ceases to be a "man of the paths" and stays in San Lorenzo to help put in order the new life which the revolt has set in motion.

San Lorenzo is Mexico, Mexico is the world, and Felipe is the bringer of fire to burn over last year's fields and let the new grass grow. But the bones of social meaning which give the story shape and strength are well imbedded in the firm living flesh of human character and action. San Lorenzo remains San Lorenzo. Felipe, I realized on reflection, becomes too articulate, overwise, but neither he nor the other characters, with the exception of Arturo, the long-imprisoned local leader, turn into symbols, though certainly part of the reader's interest in the Spaniard Hinojosa, and even more in the village priest, lies in what they represent. (Hinojosa is a vestigial conquistador; Father Ignacio's humble but stubborn defense of the peasants against the arguments of the visiting bishop Mendoza serves to reveal how class lines divide the bureaucracy of the church as well as the people.)

The revolt—both the action and the behavior of men in action—is handled with great skill and insight in the most exciting chapters in the book. But though they form its center, not its end, interest is sustained up to the last two chapters—which have the effect of a too-prolonged epilogue. The writing throughout is extraordinarily fresh and precise, concentrated and strong. No words are wasted, and occasionally a rereading is necessary, though "The Fields of Paradise" is less difficult in this respect than "Rainbow Fish." It is also less successful, within its own terms, than that book, but its terms are far more complex and comprehensive.

Mr. Bates, who took an active part in the revolutionary struggles in Spain long before, as well as during, the civil war, has a competence in social knowledge and understanding shared by few contemporary novelists. Since writing his first book, "Lean Men," he has made amazing progress in his command of language and form. Throughout the present book one feels that he knows exactly what he is doing and how to do it. "The author's intention," I read on the jacket, "is exactly mirrored by the story." And that, I suspect, is why "The Fields of Paradise," good as it is, is not greater than the sum of its parts. The story fits a little too neatly into the pattern prepared for it; the author sits firmly in the driver's seat and there are no runaways. What is missing is the daemonic quality which distinguishes "Man's Fate" and which is linked with that capacity for submission referred to above. It is not clear, as yet, whether Mr. Bates is blessed with a daemon—whether, having achieved so great a measure of control, he can now contrive to lose it—though there was more than a hint of an affirmative answer in "Rainbow Fish."

MARGARET MARSHALL

Mr. Nevins's Rockefeller

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER: THE HEROIC AGE OF AMERICAN ENTERPRISE. By Allan Nevins. Charles Scribner's Sons. Two Volumes. $7.50.

THESE two volumes are obviously designed to rank as the authoritative biography of the founder of the Standard Oil Company. They constitute an ambitious attempt to present a view different from that of Henry Demarest Lloyd, Ida Tarbell, and others. But in order to refute an aspersion cast upon Rockefeller's father by one of these,

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it was not necessary to give a prolix account of his parentage and early life. This mass of items, occupying much of the first volume, may be gratifying to Rockefeller's descendants, but it is of no vital interest to posterity. More relevant chapters deal with the rise of the petroleum industry and Rockefeller's domination of it, his organization of the first great industrial trust, and his accumulation of a fortune of more than $1,000,000,000. Subsequent pages tell of the philanthropies Rockefeller established.

Mr. Nevins's capacity for incessant output evidently precludes a sense of perspective and proportion. He crowds detail upon detail, piling up a tedious bulk of material out of which emerges distinctly the author's desire to exalt the latest hero on his list. In his preface he declares of what has been written by others that "almost none of it is unbiased." Yet not only in the title of his work but repeatedly throughout the book he attests his own bias in approaching his subject.

Unable to escape the overwhelming proof that the Standard Oil Company benefited by scores of millions of dollars from secret railroad rebates, Mr. Nevins concedes the validity of much of the criticism heaped upon Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company. But he seeks to extenuate this practice by saying that secret rebates were given before Rockefeller's time. This strays from the point. Standard Oil was the first company which systematically and comprehensively dragooned railroads into the practice. An even more telling fact which is passed over is that our railroads, many of them built largely by means of public funds and land grants, were thus turned into instruments for the pyramiding of corporate riches. However, after his brief admission, Mr. Nevins promptly discovers advantages to offset the indictment.

Echoing a now outworn term, he characterizes former attacks upon the Standard Oil Company as the "literature of muckraking." He assumes that this "literature of exposure" —as he also designates it—began with the books on Jay Gould's skulduggery after the Civil War and reached its height in the 1890's and 1900's. As a matter of fact, almost from the formation of the American Republic reports prepared by Congressional, legislative, and aldermanic investigating committees had exposed corporate and political corruption and plundering. Book and magazine writers were much belated in following suit. Why? One reason was the publishers' penchant for lauding millionaires—with the exception of Gould, then the stock scapegoat of capitalism. Houghton's book, "Kings of Fortune, or the Triumphs and Achievements of Noble, Self-Made Men," issued in 1884, was only one fulsome example of the tendency. The searching writings of Lloyd, Tarbell, and others were as much a revolt against the current fashion of adulation as an expression of mounting popular alarm at the power and abuses of accumulated wealth.

If the "muckrakers" fell into extremes in the fervor of their revelations, they are matched by Mr. Nevins, who tries to find every possible extenuation for Rockefeller as an individual and seizes every opportunity to rhapsodize over his era as "the heroic age." Yet whatever credit may be assigned to Rockefeller for not participating in some of these practices, the age of the formation of trusts saw many huge stock waterings, stock jobbings, regular debauching of poli-

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tics, great frauds and swindles, briberies, evasion and defiance of law, ruthless business methods, and vast exploitations. These glaring misdeeds prompted Theodore Roosevelt to brand the perpetrators of them "malefactors of great wealth."

Mr. Nevins extols Rockefeller as a "bold innovator" in industry and in philanthropy, though years before Rockefeller's consolidations Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt had pointed the way by welding railroad systems; in one place Mr. Nevins acknowledges the impression made upon Rockefeller by this example. In philanthropy the endowed Rockefeller organizations opened some new channels, but that was all. Endowments, coupled with the donor's concept of himself as a God-chosen "steward" of wealth (Mr. Nevins has a chapter on stewardship), much antedated Rockefeller's benefactions. Among those who established philanthropic trusts during their lifetime, the banker George Peabody, in 1857, was the munificent pioneer.

Mr. Nevins regards his hero's story as "one of the great romances of American history," but during Rockefeller's lifetime popular odium centered on him as the stark embodiment of acquisitiveness, and his sanctimoniousness made him seem the personification of pretense and hypocrisy. When in advancing age he bestowed vast sums on humanitarian projects, public hostility was softened but not removed. Perhaps the most telling factor in such rehabilitation of the Rockefeller name as has taken place has been the character of John D., Jr. This simple fact points a moral more effectively than all Mr. Nevins's varnished chapters striving to create a much-misunderstood Rockefeller, Sr.

GUSTAVUS MYERS

The Real Issue of the War

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? A Proclamation of British Democracy by a Labor Party Spokesman. By Harold J. Laski. Viking Press. $1.75.

HERE it is, the way for Britain to beat off apocalyptic assault and rescue Europe from despair. Plain as a pikestaff. The frozen Tories, who would not and could not keep the peace, who could not fight manfully when the war had come, won't like Laski's doctrine. The "hesitant dynamists," who offer increased old-age pensions as reward for staggering duties, will answer, "Yes, but—no!" The revolving *furibundos* of the pseudo-left will denounce it. To fascism by imposition Laski would oppose socialism by consent.

There are no waste words in this splendid little book. Its criticism of society and of the rulers of Britain and France is the familiar one of the left, expressed, however, with a balance and urbanity that will make this book a pleasure and an excitement for those who are repelled by adjectival ferocity and special pleading. The war began, Laski convincingly shows, because the capitalist statesmen of Britain and France feared to overthrow fascism. Hoping always to turn the Third Reich against the Soviet Union, they rejected the only effective alliance available to them. By seeking to defend the British and French empires alone, as the special interests of their own privileged class, they brought the peoples they misled to the brink of total defeat and enslavement. It is a criticism still valid even if, like Laski, we are not fooled by the incomparable mendacity of the Kremlin apologists. For while Laski evinces no trace of hostility toward the Soviet Union, he recognizes that Chamberlain's folly in guaranteeing Poland without an alliance with Moscow gave Stalin an opportunity for one of the most cynical pieces of bargaining that the history of power politics records.

If this general criticism of imperialist politics is true, Laski argues, if the old form of democracy has been incapable both of maintaining peace and of effectively waging war, then Labor must "organize the surrender" of the privileged classes. His commentaries upon the early stages of the war, up to the overthrow of the Chamberlain government, are especially interesting. The British government announced that it was fighting for democracy, but it did nothing to prove it. It was the old retrogressive and decaying form of democracy it sought to preserve, not that which the war effort itself demanded. Mr. Laski illustrates his points vividly. Chamberlain, on June 30, 1940, explained his paralysis of will by saying that he did not think the workers would put forth the effort that victory required until the bombs began to fall on Great Britain. It throws a flood of light on Chamberlain's mind. He had, Mr. Laski says, "no confidence in the power of the Britain he symbolized to evoke from [the working classes] the energy that victory required until the ravages of war had made them passionately angry." Mr. Chamberlain would utilize anger in place of conviction. The trade unions, now inspired by new hopes, are working desperately to make up Mr. Chamberlain's lost time. There are huge tasks ahead for Labor, as well as dangers of defeat from within and without. Mr. Laski points out exactly what the dangers are. The trade unions willingly surrender their interests for a while (and the membership does, I would add, not merely the leadership) but so far there is little sign that the employers are making comparable sacrifices. The war, in Britain as in the Soviet Union or any other European country, is lowering the standard of living, but taxation has not yet seriously affected the comfort of the wealthy classes. Far too great a proportion of the war costs are being raised by the creation of bankers' credit, to become a burden upon the people later. There have been concessions, of course, such as greatly increased wages for agricultural laborers, increased unemployment relief, etc., but there have been no effective redistributions of economic power, and if Britain is to win, there must be. If the war ceased tomorrow, the old relation of poverty to privilege would exist, with all that implies as to the nature of the peace. The ruling classes are still in the positions of 1919, which enabled them to bring the world to its present predicament.

In other words, it is not socialism after the war which Labor must urge. And, by the way, American readers must remember that European labor has indissolubly linked its political fortunes with the idea of socialism. The route toward socialism must be in part traversed now—not only to make the war effort effective, but in order to awaken the revolutionary energies of peoples now overrun by the Axis. Mr. Laski is emphatic upon the Indian question. That country has been brought, he declares, to a consciousness of its national destiny. "There is not one popular leader in India, with a serious following behind him, to whom we can appeal for support of the continuance of our paramountcy. Year

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by year, to maintain it, we have to resort to special powers, the exercise of undemocratic authority, the wide use of the power to imprison and to flog. The few Indians of position we can produce to applaud our rule are men whom we have elevated for that purpose."

The liberation of India, which Mr. Laski does *not* believe to be a simple problem, would have greater effect in awakening sympathy within Germany and Italy than any other single act. It would elicit Soviet confidence, and win wide approval in the United States.

I have not indicated the sobriety of this book with sufficient emphasis. Mr. Laski's learning and his power of persuasion are too well known to need any comment. This is the best statement on the issues of the war yet to come out of Britain. It is written by a member of the National Executive of the Labor Party. That party is a major party, and it is the rising one in Britain. To it, far more than to Mr. Churchill's magnificent leadership in the great crisis of June, July, and August, the visible awakening of Britain and the animation of its resistance have been due. RALPH BATES

"A Wall of Stone"

THE VOYAGE. By Charles Morgan. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

THE theme of Charles Morgan's new novel, as of most of his previous work, is "singleness of mind," that triumphant inward tranquillity the achievement of which has been the aim of all philosophy, even though most professional philosophers are notoriously unable to bear the toothache patiently. Rejecting mere rational intellect as a sufficient guide to this refulgent goal, he exalts the transcendental ideal, as epitomized in the passage from Santayana which serves as an epigraph for "The Voyage":

> It is not wisdom to be only wise,
> And on the inward vision close the eyes,
> But it is wisdom to believe the heart.

The setting of his new story, which seems to me even more mature and thought-provoking than "The Fountain," is France in the years following the Franco-Prussian War. The peaceful vineyard district of the Charente produces both of his principal characters: Barbet Hazard, grape-grower and cognac-distiller, whose completely integrated nature liberates him from the shackles of hatred, fear, ambition, and lust that fetter most human beings; and Thérèse Despreux, impetuous and self-reliant, who fights her way up through the bohemian world of Paris to become a famous diseuse. In so far as the novel has a plot, it traces the strange yet tender growth of their love for each other, a romance that to the sentimental reader may seem casual and lusterless beyond all endurance but which nevertheless harmonizes thoroughly with the tranquil, Olympian mood of the entire book. In no sense could Barbet be called a romantic hero, although on at least one occasion his quiet self-possession thrusts him into the position of having accomplished what his neighbors deem a miracle. "When we are ready," he gently repulses all harassing worries over future dilemmas, "we shall know what to do." Again Barbet: "I think people bother their heads too much with 'why?' and 'how?' and 'what will the consequences be?' I

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have no more *opinion* about it than I have about the grapes on a vine."

In this story, as in "The Fountain," Mr. Morgan makes prominent use of a prison—though this time his hero keeps the prison instead of being incarcerated—in order to stress a point to which a certain trite quotation about stone walls and iron bars scarcely does justice. "To be tied by force, by other people—to be in prison even, is still to be free. The terrible thing is to let chains grow in one's own mind—not to be able to walk out of a room though all the doors are open. . . . Hatred and fear are chains." Thus Barbet, while he remains confident of his rightness in keeping some half-dozen prisoners in the town's makeshift jail, quells an incipient prison break alone and unarmed, without violence; when he finds himself beginning to be walled in by his own dislike for a refractory inmate, he acts with characteristic directness, releasing the prisoners and going to jail himself for having broken the laws of society.

It is this spiritual freedom, the power to do calmly and inconspicuously whatever he thinks at the time to be right, that sets Barbet apart from other men, and, paradoxically, makes him completely at home at all times, in any company. It is this that he means when he speaks of making a "voyage" —not the easy transporting of one's body from town to town, but the ability to change completely one's way of life, "not to be earth-bound, not to be stage-bound or money-bound, not to be *bound* by anything."

That, you will quite rightly say, is pure Thoreau. Though Mr. Morgan's exquisitely polished prose has "a dying fall," an almost feminine sensitivity to nuances, he preaches the same gospel as did the Concord pencil-maker who knocked together a shack by Walden Pond to prove that one could make "voyages," and who, incidentally, having been jailed for non-payment of a tax which he considered unjust, wrote: "I saw that, if there was a wall of stone between me and my townsmen, there was a still more difficult one to climb or break through before they could get to be as free as I was."

LOUIS B. SALOMON

Psychiatry with Pictures

PSYCHIATRY FOR THE CURIOUS. By George H. Preston. Farrar and Rinehart. $1.50.

CAN you imagine a psychiatrist with a sense of humor? The influence of James Thurber has come to psychiatry. Preston has a talent for clever line drawings, and with them he illustrates a simple, clear, informal text which in 148 pages gives a very adequate introduction to the subject of psychiatry.

"Psychiatry suffers from words," says the author in the first line, but he proves in the next 147 pages that not all psychiatrists are so afflicted. There are quotable passages on every page; take this:

> Some friend of yours is walking through life using his stomach . . . to protect himself from the difficulties of a world which is too strenuous. . . . If a man doesn't work and support his family, we put him in jail for non-support; but if he can prove he is sick, then we do not put him in jail, and the rest of us . . . take care of his family. . . . In our present civilization being sick can relieve you of a great deal of responsibility.

Or this:

> The fable of the Cheshire Cat, the cat with a head and no body [Preston is a little inaccurate here], is an excellent starting place for any discussion of psychiatry. Psychiatry is supposed to deal with the mind, but no one ever saw a mind which was not associated with . . . a heart, a set of lungs, arms and legs, and a lot of other miscellaneous internal machinery. . . .

The author is Commissioner of Mental Hygiene for the state of Maryland. This book enables the people of forty-seven other states to share some of Maryland's good fortune.

KARL MENNINGER

A Selected List of Children's Books

BY LENA BARKSDALE

PICTURE BOOKS

Animals Everywhere. By Ingri and Edgar Parin d'Aulaire. Doubleday, Doran. $1.25. A panorama of animals from the tropics to the poles. Rich color and entertaining detail.

A Country A B C. By Clarke Hutton. Oxford. $2. Lovely pictures of flowers, fruit, animals, and insects.

Babar and Father Christmas. By Jean de Brunhoff. Random House. $3. Babar obligingly travels to Father Christmas to invite him to visit the elephant family at Celesteville.

The Little Train. By Lois Lenski. Oxford. 75 cents. Simple story of a toy train. Many pictures.

Hercules. By Hardy Gramatky. Putnam. $1.75. Triumphant tale of an old-fashioned fire engine. Action pictures in full color.

April's Kittens. By Clare Turlay Newberry. Harper. $1.75. Pictures of true distinction illustrate this amusing story of a little girl's three small kittens.

Presents for Lupe. By Dorothy P. Lathrop. Macmillan. $2. A red squirrel from South America receives presents from his native land. Lively pictures in three colors.

The Tale of the Whitefoot Mouse. By Henry B. Kane. Knopf. $1.25. Remarkable photographs and delicate line drawings make this little nature story unusually appealing.

Peter and the Wolf. By Serge Prokofieff. Illustrations by Warren Chappell. Knopf. $2. The principal musical themes accompany the text, and the many pictures in full color are striking and beautiful.

At the Zoo. By W. W. Robinson. Illustrations by Irene Robinson. Macmillan. $2. Two children visit their friends at the Zoo. Many good animal pictures.

They Were Strong and Good. By Robert Lawson. Viking. $2. Spirited pictures in black and white illustrate this story of some of the strong and good (not famous) people who helped to build America.

TALES OF FACT AND FANCY

The Little History of the United States. By Mable Pyne. Houghton Mifflin. $1.75. A simple history from 1492 to the present, with picture maps and amusing thumbnail sketches.

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Story of Alaska. By Clara Lambert. Crayon illustrations by C. H. de Witt. Harper. $1. Factual text and pictures with an imaginative quality combine to show the life, resources, and beauty of Alaska.

This Is the Way We Build a House. By Creighton Peet. Holt. $2. Details of house-building made interesting with excellent photographs.

From Robin to Junco. By Mary I. Curtis. Houghton Mifflin. $1.35. Bird book in story form, telling much about the habits and usefulness of familiar birds. Fully illustrated.

Peter by the Sea. By Julian R. Meade. Illustrations by Grace Paull. Doubleday, Doran. $1.50. A story with humor and natural charm for small boys. Peter learns to be a good swimmer and a good gardner.

Tommy Carries the Ball. By James and Marion Renick. Scribner. $1.50. Football story for the youngest fans with diagrams of play.

Thee, Hannah! By Marguerite de Angeli. Doubleday, Doran. $2. Old Philadelphia is the scene of this amusing Quaker story, which the author has illustrated in rich, soft color.

The Bells of Amsterdam. By Ruth Langland Holberg. Illustrations by Richard Holberg. Crowell. $2. Pleasant story of a bell-ringer's apprentice. Excellent pictures.

The Tinkers of Turntable. By B. G. Herzog. W. R. Scott. $2. Amusing story about ordinary people who have magic power.

Where the Wind Never Blew. By Padraic Colum. Macmillan. $1.50. Only an Irish poet could make this story of wandering barnyard animals at once so convincing and so magical.

Gaily We Parade. Selected by John E. Brewton and Illustrated by Robert Lawson. Macmillan. $2. A happy collection of short poems by authors old and new.

FOR TEN-TO-TWELVE-YEAR-OLDS

Children of the Sea. By Wilfrid S. Bronson. Harcourt, Brace. $2. Life story of a dolphin who was befriended by a boy. Excellent writing, scientific background, and many helpful pictures make this a book of distinction.

Brittany Summer. By Kathleen Coyle. Harper. $2. Spirited story of a delightful family visiting on an island of Brittany.

Blue Willow. By Doris Gates. Viking. $2. Sensitive and courageous story of a little girl whose one cherished possession was a blue willow plate.

The Sea Is all Around. By Elizabeth Enright. Farrar and Rinehart. $2. A little girl from the West spends an exciting winter on an island off the Atlantic coast.

The Fair American. By Elizabeth Coatsworth. Macmillan. $2. A beautifully written story of the eighteenth century, in which Andrew and Sally go to sea and help to rescue a homeless French boy.

Michel's Island. Mabel Leigh Hunt. Stokes. $2. A boy's adventures on Mackinac Island in the days of trappers and Indians.

Treasure of the Tortoise Island. By Victor von Hagen and Quail Hawkins. Harcourt, Brace. $2. A hunt for hidden

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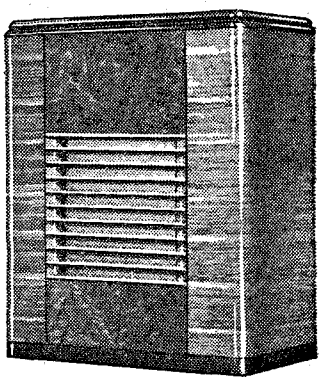

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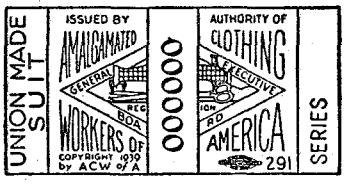

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The House at 231. By Helen Girvan. Farrar and Rinehart. $2. A New York City story for girls who like dogs, mystery, and a touch of romance.

Wings Over West Point. By R. G. Emery, Macrae, Smith. $2. A West Point cadet makes good in football and solves an airplane mystery.

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Big Knife: The Story of George Rogers Clark. By William E. Wilson. Farrar and Rinehart. $2. Stirring adventures and fine character drawing make this a notable biography.

Concord's Happy Rebel. By Hildegarde Hawthorne. Longmans, Green. $2. An excellent life of Thoreau and a fine picture of old New England.

Introducing Charles Dickens. By May Lamberton Becker. Dodd, Mead. $2.50. A great novelist is graciously presented to the younger generation.

Growing Pains. By Wanda Gág. Coward, McCann. $3.75. This diary of an artist begun when she was fifteen is the best kind of career story.

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IN BRIEF

SERGEANT LAMB'S AMERICA. By Robert Graves. Random House. $2.50.

A distinguished poet-critic-novelist presents the story of the early campaigns of the American Revolution through the eyes and pen of a sergeant in His Majesty's Ninth Regiment of Foot. Having adopted a point of view which is obviously a novelty for American readers, Mr. Graves interlards his lively tale with interesting, well-documented data concerning the British army (1776 model), and ends, as in "I, Claudius," with his narrator poised and ready for a sequel.

INVASION. By Hendrik Willem Van Loon. Harcourt, Brace. $2.

This purports to be an eyewitness account of the Nazi invasion of America. The events narrated, Mr. Van Loon explains, "are the revaluation against an American background of what happened in those neutral European countries which were suddenly attacked and overrun by the Nazis." It is obviously intended to make the blood run cold. It does.

THE CARIBBEAN DANGER ZONE. By J. Fred Rippy. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.

This is indeed a realistic account, as the publishers assert, of strategy diplomacy, just now to the fore in the vital area of the Caribbean, and of dollar diplomacy as well. It is easy to understand from the judicial and documented presentation of this beam in our eye why the good-neighbor policy had such hard going at first, though Professor Rippy brings out that the earlier policy was never approved by most Americans.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT. By Ruby Black. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $2.50.

A straightforward life of Mrs. Roosevelt by a newspaperwoman whose work has brought her into close contact with the President's wife since 1933. This pleasant biography of a remarkable woman we all admire is, as the jacket claims, "intimate and authoritative." It is an exaggeration to call it also "important."

AP: THE STORY OF NEWS. By Oliver Gramling. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.50.

This is not only the inside story of the Associated Press from its inception in 1848, but also an attempt to summarize all the news the AP has gathered since that time—like a foreign correspondent's autobiography on an extended scale. The tediousness of the result is not lessened by novelized scenes and Alger-book illustrations.

AUTHOR IN TRANSIT. By Lancelot Hogben. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.50.

The *Blitzkrieg* arrived in Oslo fifteen minutes before Mr. Hogben was scheduled to leave on the hour-and-a-half-long airplane journey to his home in Scotland. In consequence he made a journey of 20,000 miles around the globe—and wrote this travel book, which is full of pungent comments on Scandinavia, the Soviet Union, Japan, and the United States. Although Mr. Hogben's remarks are unfavorable to Russia and favorable to Japan, he is not reactionary.

DRAMA

Better Mousetrap

I DOUBT that Lawrence Langner and Armina Marshall are very much interested in the New England town meeting or that they will ever write a play built around the Middle Western art of calling hogs. It would not be easy in either case to disengage the erotic motive, and it is plainly only in the juicier pages of American social history that they find their inspiration. Some few seasons back they concocted a farce-comedy called "The Pursuit of Happiness" which was concerned in large part with the pleasant custom of bundling and which turned out to be very amusing indeed, but just now they have rather signally failed to repeat the success with a play about the Oneida Community or some similar experiment in simple communism. If bundling is funny, then plural marriage and experiments in scientific breeding probably ought to be at least ten times funnier. But somehow or other in "Suzanna and the Elders" (Morosco Theater) they just don't turn out to be.

One reason is perhaps that the authors take the more serious parts of the present play rather too seriously. In "The Pursuit of Happiness" the subject of bundling was kept well to the fore; the more abstract and more purely political aspects of the rights of man appeared only remotely in the background. But in "Suzanna and the Elders" they seem equally bent upon extracting belly laughs from the audience and upon the almost schoolmasterish task of explaining just what the members of the Oneida Community believed and just why human nature doomed the experiment to failure. The entire action takes place in the living-room of the community house, and the curtain rises upon a happy group of sisters darning socks to the rhythm of a gospel hymn. The sudden eruption of an irate deacon from a Boston church provides opportunity for an explanation of the community's principles and a full justification of its determination to destroy the possessive instinct at its source by abolishing selfish monogamous love in favor of high-minded promiscuity. The simultaneous appearance of a young convert with a genius for mechanical invention and a wickedly exclusive passion for the most attractive of the young ladies makes the subsequent course of the action all too immediately clear. Bible socialism just can't stand up against either new ideas in production or old ideas in love. Emerson, Elbert Hubbard, or whoever it was that invented the famous phrase is completely confuted. The Oneida Community made thousands of better mouse traps and, I believe, is still making them. But look what happened to the Oneida Community.

The other difficulty with the Langners' play is simply that while the serious parts are being too serious the funny parts aren't being funny enough, and the play illustrates a danger which is ever present in subjects that look too obviously rich—the danger, that is to say, that the author will find only those jokes the inevitability of which made the subject look so promising in the first place. That, unfortunately, is precisely what happens here. Most American males get ready to laugh and most American females get ready to giggle when it is suggested that they consider the possibilities inherent in a society which enjoins an attractive degree of promiscuity as a solemn duty. But the present authors find no way of elaborating the joke except by a rather laborious dotting of *i's* and crossing of *t's* until the whole thing becomes somewhat more embarrassing than funny. The cream of the cosmic jest certainly involves physiological implications, but physiology by itself is never funny. Acting honors in "Suzanna and the Elders" unquestionably go to Howard Freeman, whose efforts succeed in making genuinely amusing the relatively minor role of the shy bookkeeper who is unwillingly selected to take part in a breeding experiment. Morris Carnovsky, sometimes an excellent actor, is

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curiously wooden as the leader of the Communists, and Haila Stoddard as Suzanna does not succeed in being more than an attractive soubrette.

Ethel Waters, remarkable both as an actress and a singer, certainly deserves a better vehicle than any she has had in recent years, and a good many people seem to think that she has found it in "Cabin in the Sky" (Martin Beck Theater)—a sort of fantastic opera with a book by Lynn Root and music by Vernon Duke. Here she plays the devoted wife of a shiftless Negro who is given a second chance on earth, where he is tempted by a comic devil (Rex Ingram) and watched over by the Lawd's General (Todd Duncan). Manifestly the intention was to achieve an effect like that of "The Green Pastures," but actually the quaint mythology of the former play is debased into a mere series of gags, and the two works resemble one another about as Joe Chandler Harris's Uncle Remus resembles a character in a story by Octavus Roy Cohen. Nor does the score seem to me in better taste, for it is written sometimes in something approximating the idiom of the spiritual, sometimes quite frankly in that of Tin Pan Alley. Miss Waters gets everything that is to be got out of a song like "Taking a Chance on Love," but the question is whether she should sing it at all, or at least whether she should not in any one performance make a definite choice between her talents as an interpreter of genuine Negro moods and her undoubted ability to be, when she chooses, merely a Broadway torch singer who happens to be black.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

RECORDS

IT ISN'T possible for me to evaluate all the models of phonographs put out by all the manufacturers; for this would leave me no time and space for my primary job of evaluating records. All I can undertake to do is recommend a few good machines at various price-levels; and the Lafayettes I am going to speak of are very good.

Even the person with only $37.50 to spend will get enjoyable results from the JS-175, a table-model radio-phonograph. For $59.50 there is a console combination, the JS-128, on which I will postpone comment until I have heard it with the new speaker that is to be put into it. And for the person able to spend about $100 there is a really excellent machine, with tone that has power, depth, and richness—the B-102, which varies in price according to its phonograph equipment. With the vastly improved new Astatic FP-18 crystal pickup with permanent sapphire point the price is $89.95; with the Audak D-31E magnetic pickup, which gives clearer and more brilliant tone, it is $98.95. The machine can be had with the new Garrard RC-30 record-changer: with the Astatic pickup-head on the changer the price is $104.95; with the Audak head on the changer the price is $127 (because of an expensive machining-job); and if I could not afford the additional $22 I would take the machine without the changer but with the Audak pickup.

Until now Lafayette has restricted itself to low and medium price and quality levels; this year it offers a machine in the $250 range—the Overture, which with the right phonograph equipment gives as fine reproduction as most people would want. By right phonograph equipment I mean the superb Audak D-36E pickup, with which the price of the machine is $249.50; and with the Garrard RC-30 changer equipped with D-36E head the price is $275. With the Astatic FP-38 pickup the price is $235; with the Garrard changer and Astatic head it is $249.50. And again I would pay the $25 more for the changer with the Audak head; or for $249.50 I would take the Audak pickup without the changer in preference to the changer with the Astatic head.

These prices for the B-102 and the Overture are for the entire machine in one cabinet; but the finest results are achieved by putting the speaker into a separate cabinet such as I described in my article of July 27 (the bracing for complete rigidity that I spoke of consists of a piece of one-by-two-inch wood fastened to each panel diagonally from corner to corner; and when the cabinet is made rigid in this way there should be no need of any opening in the bottom or back). A reader who equipped his Victor R-99 phonograph with such a speaker-cabinet and the Audak D-36E writes: "The simple change of transferring the same speaker to your type of cabinet wrought almost unbelievable wonders. . . . And then the pickup brought an improvement equally great." The D-36E should be installed only in a high-fidelity machine; and if you contemplate getting one you would do best to ask the Audak Company (500 Fifth Avenue, New York) what the installation requires: you may not need the transformer I had to use for my Scott. Lafayette will attach and counter-balance a D-36E head on your Garrard RC-30 changer for the new lower price of $29.50, plus $5.88 for a transformer if you need one. It will attach an Audak D-27E or D-31E head for $22.

One of the objections to record-changers has been the rigidity of the arm, which causes excessive wear on the record. On the Garrard RC-30 the arm, when the needle is on the record, is disengaged and free-swinging; and so there is no longer that objection. With the Audak head on the changer use only a chromium needle, not a Rec-O-Ton or Red Seal or any of the others; and if you use a fresh one for each group of records and remove it at the slightest trace of fuzziness in the tone, the wear on the record will not be anything to worry about. Without a changer use half-tone or full-tone steel—a fresh needle for each record-side; as a semi-permanent needle, and for new records, use only chromium. Don't use non-metallic needles: they give poor reproduction, wear down too quickly after repointing, and can do as much damage to the record when they are worn down as worn steel needles do. Audak supplies a sapphire point which you can use with the D-36E; otherwise don't use a sapphire except in a pickup in which it is built in as an integral part; and then let it be the Astatic FP-18 or FP-38 according to the degree of fidelity of your machine. But you will do better to change needles on an Audak D-27E or D-31E in return for the superior reproduction.

All this, added to what I wrote in my article of July 27, is as much as I know about equipment.

In the National Committee for Music Appreciation set of "Madama Butterfly" the tenor is fair, but the soprano has a voice of no great sensuous beauty that is clouded by a strong tremolo in loud passages. In the "Rigoletto" set the Duke is quite good; the Rigoletto's full voice is not as agreeable as his half-voice, but his style is good; the Gilda, on the contrary, sings the notes accurately but with no musical style, and with a cold and at times acidulous voice; and it may be that the voices are made to sound as they do by the brassy recording. The Rodolfo in the "Boheme" set is good, though he has to strain for his high notes; the Mimi sounds like the soprano of "Butterfly"; the Musetta and Marcello are fair.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

On Government by Poll

Dear Sirs: You wouldn't think much of the doctor who would excuse a mistake with the explanation that he had not acted according to his own opinion of the case but instead had interviewed the patient's relatives, friends, and neighbors and followed the advice of the majority. It would be not less dangerous to have important national policies decided by a poll or postal referendum as suggested in *The Nation* of October 26 by W. P. Cortelyou.

Dr. Gallup is unquestionably useful when he discovers for the Blank Soup Company that 90 per cent of its customers like soup made one way rather than another. Some good may also result from his anticipation of election returns. But it would be a very different thing to compile the opinions of the men in the street on such a question as whether or not Guam should be fortified and then use the result as a club over the heads of our elected representatives.

We should of course be very particular in choosing men to govern us. But having chosen, we should demonstrate our faith in their intelligence, patriotism, and morality by trusting them to reach right decisions, whether or not such decisions are at the moment in accord with the wishes of the man in the street.

This does not mean a restriction of democracy. It means rather that the ordinary citizen, who has not access to the sources of information available to the head of the government, shall not be used by the executive he has hired as an alibi for failure.

If at reelection time a man's only asset is the ability to keep his ear to the ground, he should be left in that position and replaced by someone who can also lift up his eyes unto heaven.

AVRA PILZER

New York, November 1

A Miracle Worker's Mistake

Dear Sirs: Your story of the rabbi who worked a miracle so that while it was Sabbath all around him he was able to travel because it was still Friday where he was is all right but the details. He would have had to work his miracle before Friday midnight—Sabbath for the Jews begins (see Genesis, Chapter I) at sunset Friday afternoon. The Biblical definition of a day, week day or Sabbath, is, "And it was evening, and it was morning, one day."

MAURICE J. BLOOM

Newburgh, N. Y., October 30

Bloch and the Trotskyists

Dear Sirs: I have just been reading the October issue of *Fourth International* and discovering a great many things about myself of which I had not previously been aware. It appears, on the authority of the late Leon Trotsky himself, that I am an "infamous reptile"—a distinction I am obliged to share, however, with *The Nation*—and, on the authority of the editors of the magazine, that I am not only a "Stalinist" but an "agent of the GPU" and the "confidential go-between" for Soviet Ambassador Oumansky and Vicente Lombardo Toledano, general secretary of the Confederation of Mexican Workers. All these remarkable allegations were prompted by the fact that in an article in *The Nation* for June 8, dealing in part with the first assault on Trotsky's house on May 24, I wrote that the attack had "all the earmarks of a put-up job in which Trotsky, as well as a credulous public, is being victimized." By suppression of the latter half of this statement the Trotskyites have since been trying to make it appear, in spite of my specific rejection of that hypothesis, that I accused Trotsky of having assaulted his own house!

My article was written only two days after the attack, at a time, incidentally, when the Mexican police and press were proceeding on the self-assault theory; my own view of the attempt, which there is no point in restating here, seemed to me at the moment a more logical explanation. Subsequent developments have shown that my guess was considerably wide of the mark, but to pretend to conclude from this that I was making an effort to "cover up" the guilt of the true assailants is deliberate dishonesty.

For the record it may be just as well to add that my very limited acquaintance with diplomatic circles does not include Ambassador Oumansky, so that I can scarcely be the "liaison man" between that gentleman and Lombardo Toledano. I am not and never have been the "managing editor of *Futuro*," nor am I the "head of the purchasing department of the Universidad Obrera." For nearly a year I have had no connection with *Mexican Labor News*, but during my editorship of that bulletin I did not publish it "under orders of the CTM." These facts are either readily ascertainable or else already known to Albert Goldman, Trotsky's lawyer, and to the editors of *Fourth International;* so that I harbor no illusions that this letter will rid them of assumptions innocently held. Nor will I again burden the pages of *The Nation* with denials of charges as stupid as they are wilfully malicious.

HARRY BLOCH

Mexico City, October 28

A C. O.'s Real Purpose

Dear Sirs: Your editorial criticism of the action of conscientious objectors at Union Theological Seminary represents an apparent misunderstanding of two important points. First, the basis of conscientious objection is disapproval of the war system in any of its aspects. Second, the evasion of combatant duty by exemption has no consolation in it for the conscientious objector.

The basic desire of a conscientious objector is not to "get out of" doing something unpleasant. It is, rather, to do everything possible to eliminate war as an instrument of international policy. The fact that certain liberal clauses in the conscription bill allow for the exemption of ministers and divinity students does not make registration for purposes of a military draft any more acceptable. Everyone who registers and is called must serve either as a combatant or as a non-combatant. It is to such a policy, which denies the sanctity of private conscience, that the conscientious objector must stand opposed.

If it is to this that the Union Seminary boys object, may their cause prosper.

ROBERT R. HUME

Chicago, Ill., October 23

Hoover and Polish Relief

Dear Sirs: In your issue of September 23 there appears a letter from L. G. J. under the heading Food for Europe. This letter reports statements said to have been made by Herbert Hoover, which are so obviously untrue that Mr. Hoover has not deigned to answer them. He has,

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however, authorized me, as an officer of the Commission for Polish Relief, to flatly deny the statement quoted by L. G. J. that any of our relief supplies in Poland have been touched by the German authorities.

Your correspondent quotes Mr. Hoover as saying, "Two million bushels of wheat shipped to relieve Poland has been seized partly by Germany, partly by Russia." The Commission for Polish Relief, of which Mr. Hoover is a member, has never shipped a single bushel of wheat or any other grain for Polish relief, either into Germany or into Russia. In fact, the total amount of relief which we have sent into Poland, consisting mostly of milk and fats and cod-liver oil for children, represents a value of less than one-sixth of 2,000,000 bushels of grain. Neither the Germans nor the Russians have seized one pound of the relief supplies which we have sent into Poland.

The moment any of our relief supplies are diverted from the channels for which they are intended our relief activities in Poland will stop, but we have been given no grounds for such action up to now.

MAURICE PATE, Vice-President,
Commission for Polish Relief

New York, October 28.

[We have attempted to obtain from L. G. J. substantiation of the information contained in her letter. Since we have been unable to reach her, we feel obliged to print Mr. Pate's protest.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Today's Dred Scott Case

Dear Sirs: May we call the attention of the readers of *The Nation* to a case which the Solicitor General of New York State has called the "Dred Scott case of the twentieth century"? It involves a poor shoemaker, Rosario Chirillo, and his family in Westchester County, New York, who are fighting the attempts of relief authorities to deport them to Wooster, Ohio.

In January, 1939, Chirillo returned to his former residence of Mamaroneck, New York, to be near his married children. He earned a livelihood until September, when lack of work forced him to apply for relief. After the first few relief checks he was told that he was not eligible for relief because he had not lived in the community twelve months prior to his application, and that he must return to Ohio. When he refused, the Welfare Department obtained a court order to compel the Chirillos to move to Ohio. Counsel for the Workers' Defense League, representing them, has appealed to the highest state court on the ground that the law is unconstitutional.

A victory for us in this case will establish firmly that the United States is one nation and not forty-eight with barriers against one another's citizens. Our able attorneys are contributing their services, but funds are urgently needed to meet the heavy cost of printing the briefs. They should be sent to the Workers' Defense League, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York.

DAVID L. CLENDENIN,
National Secretary-Treasurer,
Workers' Defense League

New York, November 2

Fifth-Column Industrialists

Dear Sirs: In ferreting out fifth columnists let us not terrorize callow blond farm youths of German parentage, but rather scrutinize the activities of the men who, from their lucrative places on the directorates of banks and of oil, mining, and other corporations, wave the American flag with one hand while with the other they receive profits from alien exploitation and control of basic American industries.

The upheaval of the first World War revealed the extent to which foreign interests had penetrated in the control of American metals, for example. A single instance, that of copper, will suffice to demonstrate this point. In 1917 three American copper concerns were found to be active affiliates of German interests. In the case of the American Metal Company, with an issued capitalization of $7,000,000, control of $3,336,000, or nearly 50 per cent, was vested in the Metallgesellschaft of Frankfurt-am-Main and Aaron Hirsch of Halberstadt, working through the false front of the United States Smelting, Refining, and Mining Company. In 1918 the German concern of Vogelstein and Company, using the same American affiliate as a smoke screen, controlled a yearly output of copper of 50,000,000 pounds from American mines.

In a book entitled "Political and Commercial Geology" (1920, McGraw-Hill Company) Professor J. E. Spurr showed that since American capital owns American mines, smelters, and refineries, the Germans were able to obtain this amazing control only through a systematic and persistent building up of selling concerns, which later developed close working agreements with copper refineries. Today it behooves us to be alert and see to it that American copper producers enter into no secret agreements with aliens.

The real fifth-column danger derives from this seizure of American resources by camouflaged holding companies with the traitorous connivance of American capitalists ready to sell their country's security for gold. Jay Franklin's description of the finding of French soldiers with their bodies riddled by French iron sold to Germany by the "hundred families" of France's economic hierarchy may yet find its parallel in American experience if circumstances force us into battle against Hitler's legions.

DONALD P. BEARD

Kansas City, Mo., November 1

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